

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY
of
EASTERN INDIA

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF EASTERN INDIA

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को सादर

FOREWORD

It is my privilege to write this foreword to Dr. Y.K. Mishra's book, "Socio-economic and Political History of Eastern India, which substantially forms the part of his Ph. D. thesis approved by the Magadh University. Like Mithilā, Vaiśālī and Magadh, Aṅga is also an ancient land, mainly famous for its many-sided cultural activities. There was hitherto no systematic and elaborate account dealing with the ancient geography, dynastic as well as socio-economic and religious history of Aṅga, though some previous writers had shed light on particular aspects of its ancient and mediæval history.

The importance of regional histories is now being stressed all over the world, for, without this no authoritative and comprehensive account of a country is possible. This is far more true in the case of the history of Bihar in Particular and that of India in general as the early history of India is really the history of different regions which, for the most part flourished as independent states in those days with their distinct cultural traits. Aṅga was one of the important regions which played a significant part in those days, but unfortunately we had no connected account of its history and culture. I am glad that it is one of my former students (now colleague) who has removed this long-felt want, by presenting a scientific study of the political and cultural history of Aṅga. As it is a pioneer work, it is bound to suffer from certain limitations but there is no denying the fact that he has done a useful service to the cause of indology for which all of us should be thankful to him. He has been critical and scientific in his approach to various problems connected with his work, and I have no doubt that his painstaking work will receive due appreciation from the historians and indologists.

Magadh University,
Bodh-Gaya.

(Upendra Thakur)

PREFACE

The scope of this book has been restricted to the Eastern India to make the detailed account possible. My object has been to trace the socio-economic and political history of Anga Janapada from the earliest recorded times to the end of the sixth century B.C. The subsequent account will be taken up separately. All available sources from the literary, archaeological and traditional angles have been utilised and, as far as practicable, corroboration of the evidence cited has been attempted.

I am greatly indebted to my Guru Dr. Upendra Thakur, Professor and Head, Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya, whose invaluable guidance has opened a new horizon for me in understanding of the subject.

I am extremely grateful to Dr. S.P. Gupta, Keeper National Museum, New Delhi for encouraging me and guiding me in possible manners in my intellectual pursuits.

My hearty thanks to Dr. Sachchidanand Sahai for his help throughout the preparation of this work. It is also my pleasant duty to thank my friends Sri A. K. Dutta (Deputy Registrar, Magadh University), Dr. Md. Aquique, Dr. Artsa Tulku, Dr. Birendra Prasad, Sri Nasim Akhtar (Curator, Govt. Museum, Gaya), Sri Rajeshwar Jha (Bihar Research Society, Patna), Prof. K.D. Prasad (Jagjeewan College, Gaya), Sri Devendra Nath Thakur (Estate Officer, Magadh University) who have rendered valuable assistance in various ways.

In particular, I wish to thank Dr. B. Upadhyay, Prof. Murari Pathak, Dr. Birendra Kumar Singh, Dr. Madan Mohan Singh, Dr. R.C.P. Singh and Dr. Shashi Shekhar Tiwary who have given me constant encouragement. In preparing this work my grateful thanks are due to my elder brother Sri Nawal Kishore Mishra

(Supply Inspector, Patna) my friend Sri Narmadeshwar Sharma (Officer-in-charge, Ramgarh Police Station), My younger brothers Sri Kamal Kishore Mishra (M.A) and Sri Bimal Kishore Mishra (M.A.) and my student, Bimal Kumar Sharma for helping me in various ways.

Finally it remains for me to thanks M/s B R. Publishing Corporation Delhi for their kind cooperation and quick printing of this book. Without their help the book may still have remained unpublished.

Bodh-Gaya
10 Nov., 76

Yugal Kishore Mishra

ABBREVIATIONS

Av.	<i>Atharvaveda</i>
Arth.	<i>Arthaśāstra</i>
A. I. H. T.	<i>Ancient Indian Historical Tradition</i>
AN or Anguttara	<i>Anguttara Nikāya</i>
Agn.	<i>Agni Purāṇa</i>
AGI or AG	<i>Ancient Geography of India</i>
Ait. Brū or Brah.	<i>Aitareya Brāhmaṇa</i>
A. S. I.	<i>Archaeological Survey of India</i>
Arch. Sur.	<i>Archaeological Survey</i>
A. S. R.	<i>Archaeological Survey Report</i>
ASIAR	<i>Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report</i>
Āp. Dh. Sūt.	<i>Āpastamba Dharmasūtra</i>
Bh. or Bhag.	<i>Bhagavata Purāṇa</i>
B. D. Gazetteers	<i>Bhagalpur District Gazetteers</i>
Bal.	<i>Balakanda of the Rāmāyaṇa</i>
Brah. or Br.	<i>Brahma Purāṇa</i>
B. H. U.	<i>Banaras Hindu University</i>
Bd.	<i>Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa</i>
Bk.	<i>Book</i>
Chs. or C. or Ch.	<i>Chapter</i>
CHI	<i>Cambridge History of India</i>
Cf.	<i>Compared from</i>
CCIM	<i>Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum</i>
CII	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
CV	<i>Chullavagga</i>
DHNI	<i>Dynastic History of Northern India</i>
DN or Digha	<i>Digha Nikāya</i>
DPPN	<i>Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names</i>
E. I.	<i>Epigraphica Indica</i>

Ed.	Edited
fn.	Foot note
GDAMI	<i>Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India</i>
Gr.	<i>Garuda purāṇa</i>
Hv.	<i>Harivaṃśa</i>
HCIP	<i>History and Culture of Indian People</i>
I. A.	Indian Antiquary
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly
INC	Indian Numismatic Chronicles
Intr.	Introduction
Jā.	<i>Jātaka</i>
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
JBRs	Journal of Bihar Research Society
JAHS	Journal of Archaeological and Historical Society, G.D College, Begusarai
JDL	Journal of the Department of Letters
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
Kr.	<i>Kūrma Purāṇa</i>
Lg.	<i>Liṅga Purāṇa</i>
MN or Majjhima	<i>Majjhima Nikāya</i>
M. A.	<i>Majjhima Nikāya Atthakatha</i>
Mt.	<i>Matsya Purāṇa</i>
Mbh.	<i>Mahābhārata</i>
Mr.	<i>Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa</i>
Manu.	<i>Manusmṛti</i>
MV	<i>Mahavagga</i>
Pd.	<i>Padma Purāṇa</i>
PTS	Pāli Text Society
Panc.Bra.	<i>Pancha Brāhmaṇa</i>
PHAI	<i>Political History of Ancient India</i>
Pt.	Parts
P.U.	Patna University
Rv.	<i>Ṛgveda</i>
Rām.	<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i>
Śiva.	<i>Śiva Purāṇa</i>
SN or Saṃyutta	<i>Saṃyutta Nikāya</i>
SBE	<i>Sacred Books of the East</i>

Sat. Br.	<i>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</i>
Sp.	<i>Śānti Parva</i>
Su.Ni	<i>Sutta-Nipāta</i>
Tait. Br.	<i>Taittirīyā Brāhmaṇa</i>
Vrs.	Verses
V. Ram	<i>The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki</i>
Vm.	<i>Vaṃana Purāṇa</i>
Vr.	<i>Vārāha Purāṇa</i>
Vol.	Volume
Va.or Vayu.	<i>Vāyu Purāṇa</i>
VI	Vedic Index
VS. or Visnu.	<i>Viṣṇu Purāṇa</i>
Vinaya	<i>Vinaya Pīṭaka</i>
Yāj.	<i>Yājñavalkya</i>

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A. Society—Caste System, Slavery, Marriage, Food and Drinks, Dress and Ornaments, Recreations,	
B. Religion—Brāhmanism—(a) Vaiṣṇavism (b) Saivism (c) Sakti Worship, Jainism, Buddhism.	94

- c. Economy—Industries, Guild organisation,
Trade and Commerce, Revenue System
Medium of Exchange.

VI. CONCLUSION

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INTRODUCTION

IT is a well established fact that politically, pre-Mauryan India was not a unified country. Though the process of her political and cultural unification had started long before the advent of the imperial Mauryas, it was substantially achieved only in their times. Consequently, any study of the political history of that period must relate to local dynasties. In such regional studies, the history of Aṅga occupies an important place, because it was one of the foremost pre-Mauryan Mahājanapadas. Its history is traditionally known from various indigenous literary sources.

The present work is an attempt at presenting for the first time, a connected and critical account of the history of Aṅga (an important region of Eastern India) from the earliest times to the rise of the Mauryas. The country of Aṅga during this period comprised the region south of the Gangā, between the Kiul river and the Rājmaḥal hills. It included roughly the modern districts of Bhāgalpur, Monghyr and parts of the Santhal Pargana. The capital of ancient Aṅga, the land of the Aṅga of the *Atharvaveda*, the territory of king Lomapada of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, of king Karna of the *Mahābhārata*, was Campā, Campāpuri or Campānagara, which was situated at a distance of sixty yojanas from Mithilā.¹ In some of the old Brāhmanical texts,² Campā was also called Mālinī, which later became a part of the kingdom of Magadha.

There is no denying the fact that the contribution of ancient Aṅga to Indian civilization is considerably more remarkable than

¹ *Jā.*, VI, p. 32.

² *Mt.*, *Va.*, *Hv.*, *Mbh.*

that of other parts of the country. It has a glorious past of which any civilised nation or country may justly be proud. The relics of its glorious past can yet be seen in its ancient cities. It was the scene of the work of the two most venerated names in the religious history of the world—Gautama Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. Once ruled by Bimbisāra, the great Aśoka, his son Mahinda and his successors, Aṅga was also visited by well-known heretical teachers like Pūraṇakassapa, Mokkhalī Gosāla, Ajita Kesakamvalī, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya, Belaṭṭhiputta and Nigaṇṭha Nātha-putta.¹ It was at Aṅga that a Yakkha named Puṇṇaka, nephew of Vessavana Kuvera, came through the sky.² Reference is made to the queen of king Ariṭṭha (Ariṣṭa) Janaka of Mithilā who took shelter in Campā, the capital of Aṅga, when the king was killed by his younger brother.³ There are still remains of once splendid cities, hills, monasteries, temples, shrines, and places hallowed by the memory of the great thinkers and preachers.

Though, there have been considerable scholarly works on that period of India, viz., *Dynastic History of Northern India* by H. C. Ray; *Pre-Buddhist India* by R. L. Mehta; *Political History of Ancient India* by H. C. Raychaudhuri; *Epic India* by C. V. Vaidya; *Gorakhpur Janapada kā Itihāsa Aura Usakī Kṣatriya Jātīyān* (Hindī) by R. B. Pandey; *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* by F. E. Pargitor; *Ayodhyā kā Itihāsa* (Hindī) by Lala Sitaram; *History of Kośala* by Visuddhanand Pathak; *History of Mithilā* by Upendra Thakur; *Early History of Vaiśālī* by Yogendra Mishra and others, none of these works, however, enlightens us on the history of ancient Aṅga. It is surprising that upto this time no work dealing exclusively with the history of ancient Aṅga has been written in any language. We have stray references and a few chapters, but these lack scientific treatment in the context of the history of the region (ancient Aṅga).

However, within the limitations an attempt has been made in the present work to utilise all possible sources available. Amongst the indigenous literary sources we have utilised the Brāhmanical literature, the oldest part of which is the vedic

¹ cf. *Majjhima*, Vol. II, p. 2.

² *Jā.*, VI., p. 271.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 31; also cf. Thakur, U., *History of Mithilā*, chs. I-II.

texts, sub-divided into the *Samhitās*, the *Brāhmanas*, the *Aranyakas* and the *Upanishads*. Of these, the first two contain useful references to certain personalities connected with ancient Aṅga.

The *Epics* are of great value for knowing the general condition of the region under review—political, administrative, social, religious and economic. Its narrative parts supply us with important materials on some points connected with our study.

Like the *Epics*, the *Purāṇas* too, offer us great insight into the various aspects of ancient Aṅga. They are sometimes (if not too often) rejected as incompetent witness for the events of earlier periods as they are said to have been composed later. The different parts of the *Epics*¹ and the *Purāṇas* were written at different dates by different persons or sets of persons and the date of every part must be determined on its own account. But the nucleus of every *Epic* and *Purāṇa* existed at a very early date; and though the *Epic-Purāṇic* literature got its present form much later, it contains older traditions.

Scholars generally differ regarding the historical value of the royal genealogies furnished by the *Purāṇas*. Keith² is sceptical about the historical value of the *Purāṇas* and is doubtful regarding the history of any event which is not explicitly mentioned in the *Rgveda*. His view is supported by H. C. Raychaudhuri,³ R. C. Majumdar,⁴ and very indirectly by M. Winternitz.⁵ A. S. Altekar⁶ and A. D. Pusalkar⁷ on the other hand, have collected some typical cases to show that the *Purāṇic* genealogies refer to kings who figure in the Vedic literature also. F. E. Pargiter⁸ is the greatest champion of this school of thought, who gives more

¹ See Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Eng. tr. 1927, pp. 311-517.

² See *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 118-126.

³ *P.H.A.I.*, 6th ed. 1953, pp. 5-9.

⁴ *Ancient India*, 1952, pp. 69-70; also sec. *Vedic Age*, ed. Majumdar, R. C. & Pusalkar, A. D., 1952, pp. 48-49.

⁵ *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 529, n. 3.

⁶ *Journal of the B.H.U.*, Vol. IV, pp. 183-223.

⁷ *The Vedic Age*, pp. 267-268, 304-311.

⁸ *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 1913; *A.I.H.T.*, 1922; *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 267-296, 741-745.

weight to the *Purāṇic* tradition than to the Vedic evidence. Despite a good deal of what is untrustworthy in them, the *Purāṇas* alone contain something like a continuous historical narrative, and it is absurd to suppose that the elaborate royal genealogies were all nearly figments of imagination or a tissue of falsehood.¹ This traditional history, which has its basis in facts, has mostly preserved ancient tradition, and when supported by Vedic texts, its evidence is unimpeachable.²

There are other works in Brāhmaṇical literature which, though late, provide valuable corroborative evidence, e.g. the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Mahābhāṣya* or Patañjali. These works have been utilised, for they provide us with important material on various aspects of the region.

The *Buddhist* and the *Jaina* works have been utilised to the fullest, since they supplement the *Vedic* and *Purāṇic* works in more ways than one. The *Jātakas* furnish us valuable information about the conditions of ancient Aṅga as they were in the days of the Buddha or atleast in the time of their present redactions, i.e., the 3rd and the 2nd centuries B.C. Thus, the *Mahāpadma Jātaka*, the *Gandhāra Jātaka*, the *Nimi Jātaka*, the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*, and the *Suruci Jātaka* etc., reflect some aspects of political condition, as well as the every day life of the common man, his art and craftsmanship, trade and commerce. Several other Buddhist texts, viz., the *Milindapanho*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Pitakas*, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Mahāniddeśa*, the *Lalitavistara*, and the Jaina text *Ācarāṅga Sūtra* have supplied us considerable information about the political, social and particularly the economic condition and hence have been utilised in this work. The Buddhist literature is also useful from a chronological point of view, because it furnishes valuable hints in that direction. Moreover, it vouchsafes "light when the light from Brāhmaṇical sources begins to fail".³

The accounts of foreign travellers like Megasthenese and Fa-hien and Huen-Tsang and others have been considered. Besides

¹ Pusalkar, A.D. : *The Vedic Age*, pp. 304-305.

² *Ibid.*, p. 310; also see *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VIII, 1932, pp. 747-767.

³ *P.H.A.J.*, p. 11.

this, many non-Indian sources have proved very helpful to us. The works of law writers, though late in period, also enlighten us upon the political economic, and social condition of the region under review.

Last but not the least, are the important archaeological data which corroborate literary testimonies. A few terracotta, stone sculptures, pieces of potteries, and different kinds of stone Age tools, etc., have been unearthed in the excavations conducted in the adjoining areas of Aṅga, which have a remarkable bearing on the history and culture of that region.

The sources are thus numerous and varied, but none of these gives us a complete and comprehensive account of the history of ancient Aṅga. Nevertheless, basing on these sources we have attempted to portray as complete a picture as possible of its history politics and culture.

To have a clear idea of our subject we have divided it into seven convenient Chapters. The first chapter is Introductory and deals with the sources of the work. Chapter II surveys geography of ancient Aṅga—its name and extent; people; important cities and towns; villages and places of historical and archaeological importance, rivers and hills etc. Chapter III gives a brief survey of the dynastic history of Ancient Aṅga. Chapter IV deals with the principles of state and government in Ancient Aṅga. Chapter V surveys the life in Ancient Aṅga—religious, social and economic. The Last chapter contains the concluding remarks.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AṅGA

(A) AṅGA : A MAHĀJANAPADA OF EASTERN INDIA

IT is suggested that beyond the Gaṅgā and Yamunā no other river of Northern India, nor any province like Pancāla, Kośala, Magadha, Aṅga and Vanga find mention in the *Ṛgveda*. We are also told that there is no reference to Anga as a country in the *Ṛgveda*.¹ This view has been supported by many scholars² who have probably not cared to go deep into the matter. According to them, the name Anga first occurs in the *Atharvaveda*.³ Undoubtedly the material for the traditional history of Anga is derived from the *Atharvaveda*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Epics* as well as from *Pāli* and *Prākṛta* literatures; but a careful study of the *Ṛgveda* also goes to prove the existence of the kingdom of Aṅga during that period. After a deep study of the facts supplied by the *Ṛgveda*, we find that the kingdom of Aṅga was established towards the *Ṛgvedic* Period. In addition to Aṅga and other provinces in Northern India such as Pancāla, Kośala, Magadha, Videha etc., even a portion of Southern India, we are told, was occupied by the Aryans during the *Ṛgvedic* period.⁴

Aṅga was a settlement of the Aryans during the *Ṛgvedic* Period. In the *Mahābhārata*⁵ we have a very interesting story

¹ Das, Abinas Chandra : *Ṛgvedic India*, Vol. 1, 1921, pp. 8.9.

² Trivedi, D.S. : *The Pre-Mauryan History of Bihar*, 1953, p. 67.

³ Pandey, M.S. : *Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar*, 1963, p. 94.

⁴ Pradhan, S.N., *Chronology of Ancient India*, (1972).

⁵ *Mbh.*, I, 113 Ch.

that the *Rgvedic* Rṣi Dirghatamas Māmateya, after being thrown into the Gaṅgā, was rescued by the Kṣatriya king Bāli who took the Rṣi to his house and, according to the custom of Niyoga then prevalent in the Aryan society, requested him to raise progeny on the queen. The queen disliked the old poet but being afraid of her husband ordered her maidservant to go to the poet. Accordingly, the famous Kākṣivānt, the author of the *Rgveda* I, 116-126 was born. Being apprised of the fact that the queen did not go to the Rṣi, king Bāli ordered her again to approach him. This time the queen obeyed and Aṅga and his brothers were born. The different provinces in which they were installed as kings have according to the *Purāṇas* been named after them. The *Mahābhārata* finishes by remarking that many Kṣatriya rulers of India were the sons of the Brāhmanas i.e. the authors of the Vedic hymns. There is absolutely nothing to impeach this very interesting information recorded in the *Mahābhārata* for we find that the same account of the birth of Kākṣivānt is preserved in the Vedic work *Brhaddevata*¹ which gives the additional information that the name of the maidservant of Bāli was Usika. All the *Purāṇas* unanimously support the same account of the *Mahābhārata*, and Sāyana supports it in his introduction to the 116th hymn of Mandala I of the *Rgveda*. Accordingly, we are of the opinion that the account in the *Mahābhārata* is sober history and it should not be dismissed as a mere legend. The whole affair shows that the kingdom of Aṅga was established towards the later phase of the *Rgvedic* period. That the kingdom of Aṅga existed towards the beginning of the later *Rgvedic* period is evidenced by the existence of its king Rōmapāda who was a descendant of Aṅga Vāleya and who was a friend of Daśaratha Aikṣvāka, the contemporary of Atithigva Divōdāsa. This Rōmapāda's son-in-law was the Vedic Rṣi Rṣyasrnga. Vāibhāṇḍaki whose existence is attested not only by the *Rāmāyana* the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, but also by the *Vanśa Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda*. Vāibhāṇḍaka had his hermitage on the Kauṣiki (the modern Koṣi in Purnea).²

The famous king Kuru who belonged to the *Rgvedic* Age

¹ *Brhaddevatā* (Harvard Oriental Series edition by Dr. Macdonell). IV, 21-24.

² *Mbh.*, III, 110, 22-26.

performed grand sacrifices at a spot on the Sarasvati. This spot which was called Kurukṣetra after the name of the king, was considered as a Dharmakṣetra or a *tirtha*. Dirghatamas used to live in Aṅga, Vibhāṇḍaka on the banks of the Kauṣiki in modern Purnea and Agastya in the Deccan. Thus it will be seen that there were *tirthas* in many places in Northern India during the Vedic Period and it is a very pernicious theory that the Sarasvati was the only *tirtha* where all the *Rgvedic* poetry was composed. The Ṛṣis used to live in various places in Northern India and the Vedic poems were naturally composed by them in all those places. The Sarasvati was one of the most famous and ancient *tirthas* but it does not mean that it was the only *tirtha* known to *Rgvedic* people.

It is well known to the Purāṇists versed in *Vedic literature* that Jāhnu was the distant ancestor of the author of the *ṚK* in question¹ and belonged to the early *Rgvedic* Age and that his sacrificial ground was inundated by the waters of the Gaṅgā.² It was in commemoration of this important event that the river became afterwards well known as Jāhnavai. It is well known that rivers, hills, towns and countries were named in this fashion in ancient India. Aṅga, Śrāvasti, Viśālī, Vidarbha, Cedi, Bhāgirathi, Hastināpura are some of the examples. Secondly, Gaṅgā has been explicitly mentioned in the *Rgveda*³ by Saṃyu, the son of Bṛhaspati II. Saṃyu, who was the brother of Bharadvāja⁴ speaks of the high bank of the Gagā in the *Rgveda* which shows that he was familiar with the Gangetic Valley.

Thirdly Sindhuṣṭita, the son of Priyamedha Angirasa, explicitly mentions the river Gaṅgā in the *Rgveda*.⁵ The name Aṅga clearly occurs in the *Atharvaveda*.

The Aryan chiefs⁶ Arṇa and Citrarathā were overthrown by Indra on the bank of the Sarayū in favour of a devotee of his

¹ *Panc. Brā.* XXI, 12, 2, *Va.*, 91, 48-93, *Hv.*, 1, 32, 42-52.

² *Va.*, 91, 54-58, *Hv.*, 1, 32, 42-47.

³ *Rv.*, VI, 45, 31.

⁴ *Rv.*, VI, 48, 7.

⁵ *Rv.*, VI, 45, 31.

⁶ *Rv.*, IV, 31, 18.

own. Citraratha's father Dharmarathā drank *soma* along with Indra at Gaya on the Viṣṇupada mountain¹ and Kālāñjara.² We find Aṅga mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, where they are held in contempt with the Gāndhāris, the Mujavantas and the Magadhas. They were despised as Vṛātyas or peoples who lived outside the pale of orthodox Brāhmaṇism.³ The *Mahābhārata*⁴ mentions Aṅga and Vāṅga as forming one kingdom.

In the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*⁵ they are mentioned as Aṅga-Magadha. Pāṇini groups together Aṅga, Vāṅga, Kalinga, Pundra etc., all placed in the midland.⁶

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya*⁷ of the *Pāli Sutta Pittaka* mentions sixteen Mahājanapadas in Jambudvīpa. They are as follows :

Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśī, Kośala, Vajji, Malla, Cedi, Vamśa, Kuru, Pañcala, Maccha (Mātsya), Sūrasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gāndhara and Kamboja, each named after the people who settled there or colonized it.

The *Digha Nikāya*⁸ gives a list of twelve only, omitting the last four, while the *Cullaniddesa*⁹ adds Kalinga to the list and substitutes Yona for Gandhāra. The *Indriya Jātaka*¹⁰ mentions the Janapadas in different manner. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* also presents the Janapadas in different manner.¹¹ The Jaina *Bhagavati Sūtra* gives a slightly different list. They are as follows :

Aṅga, Vāṅga, Magadha (Magadha), Malaya, Mālava, Accha, Vaccha (Pāli: Vamśa) Koccha, Paḍha, Lāḍha (Rāḍha), Bajji (Pāli : Vajji), Moli (Malla), Kāśī, Kośala, Avāha (Avāha) and Sambhuttara or Subhuttara. The Jaina list seems to be later than the

¹ Va., 99, 102.

² Br., p. 13, 39.

³ J.R.A.S. 1913, 155 ff; J.A.S.B., 1914, 317 ff; For details see R. K. Choudhary, *The Vṛātyas in Ancient India*.

⁴ Mbh., II, 44, 9.

⁵ *Gopatha Brāh.*, II, 9.

⁶ Pāṇini, VI, I, 170; II, 4, 62.

⁷ *Aṅguttara*, Vol. I, p. 213; Vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.

⁸ *Digha*, II, pp. 202, 203.

⁹ *Niddesa*, P.T.S. edited; II., p. 37.

¹⁰ *Jā.*, III, 463.

¹¹ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch. 57, 32-35.

Buddhist list given in the *Anguttara Nikāya*.

The *Mahāvastu* has a traditional record of the sixteen big states of Jambudvīpa, but there is no enumeration of the list (*Jambudvīpe soḍaśahi mahājānapadehi*).¹ A similar reference is also found in the *Lalitavistara* without the traditional list (*Sarvasmin Jambudvīpe soḍaśajanāpadesu*).² A careful study of *Mahāvastu* shows that in a different connection it enumerates a list of sixteen big states.³

An interesting account of the tribal characteristics of the people of different Janāpadas is given in the *Karṇaparva*⁴ of the *Mahābhārata*. There the following tribes are mentioned to have been inhabitants of their respective Janāpadas named after them :

the Kauravas, the Pancālas, the Śālvās, the Matsyas, the Naimiṣas, the Cedis, the Śūrasenas, the Magadhas, the Kośalas, the Aṅgas the Gaṇḍhārvās and the Madrakas.

Aṅga was a powerful kingdom before the time of the Buddha.⁵ It was one of the sixteen Mahājānapadas of ancient India and was very rich and prosperous.⁶ The *Atharvaveda* refers to the Aṅgas as a distinct people along with the Magadhas, the Mūjavants and the Gaṇḍhāris without specifying their territories.⁷ According to Zimmer and Blookfield, the Aṅgas were settled on the rivers Sone and Gaṅgā in later times but their early seat was presumably there also.⁸

Pargiter regards them as a non-Aryan people that came over-

¹ *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, p. 2.

² *Lalitavistara*, p. 22.

³ *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 34.

⁴ *Mbh.*, *Karṇaparva*.

⁵ *Jā.*, VI, 272.

⁶ *Agn.*, I, 213; Law, B.C., *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 19; *Mbh.*, 822, 46; *Mahāvastu*, II., p. 2; *Vinaya Texts.*, S.B.E., II., 146.

⁷ *Va.*, 22, 14.

⁸ *Av.*, 446, 449.

sea to eastern India.¹ Ethnographically they were connected with the Kalingas and other people of the plains of Bengal.²

Thus, we see that Āṅga was one of the Mahājanapadas of Jambudvīpa and its capital was Campā.³ It was extensive in area and full of food, drink and other enjoyable things.⁴ It had an abundant quantity of wealth.⁵

(B) ĀṅGA : ITS NAME AND EXTENT

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the country was named Āṅga, because Madana (the Hindu cupid), being burnt by the anger of Śiva, had cast off his body in this region.⁶ We come to know from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Madana fled from the hermitage of Śiva to escape his consuming anger and the region, where he cast off his body (*aṅga*), has since been known by the name of Āṅga.⁷ The hermitage of Mahādeva also has been known as Kāmāśrama. This Kāmāśrama was situated at the confluence of the Sarayu and the Gaṅgā. Local tradition points to Karon as being the place where Mahādeva performed penance.⁸ There is a temple of Kāmeśvaranātha at Karon in Ballia district, opposite Buxar, across the Gaṅgā.

According to the *Mahābhārata* Āṅga was established by king Āṅga after whose name it came to be known in the early period. According to tradition Titikṣu, the second son of Mahāmanasa, who was seventh in descent from Anu, founded the Anava kingdom in the east and named it after his ancestor. Asura king Bāli had five Kṣetraja sons by Sudeshna named Āṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Pundra and Śumba and they also formed five kingdoms. The *Purāṇas* also support the tradition of the *Mahābhārata*⁹ when

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 852.

² *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 534.

³ *Jā.*, VI, p. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁵ *Āṅguttara*, p. 213.

⁶ *Rām.*, Bal., 23, 14.

⁷ *Rām.*, I, 32.

⁸ *J.A.S.B.*, 1914, pp. 317-49; De, N.L., *Notes on Ancient Āṅga*.

⁹ *Mbh.*, I, 104.

they say that Bāli had Kṣetraja sons who founded the kingdoms after their names.¹ Hiuen Tsang also confirms the *Purāṇic* tradition. He says, "At the beginning of this Kalpa, when men were homeless savages, a goddess came down from heaven, and after bathing in the Gaṅgā, became pregnant.² She bore four sons who divided the world among them, and built cities, and the first city was Cāmpa.³ According to the Buddhists, Aṅgas the chieftains of Aṅga were so called because of the beauty of their limbs.⁴

The *Mahābhārata* describes the people of Aṅga as Sujati or of noble birth,⁵ but in latter times journeys to Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Saurāṣṭra and Magadha are interdicted "except for religious purposes".⁶ After examining the above mentioned facts we reach the conclusion that in India the descendants and followers of a famous king have often been generally known by the name of the king. This has been particularly the case with the famous founders of dynasties. The descendants of Bharata were known as the Bharatas and those of Kuru were known as the Kurus. Similarly the descendants of Aṅga were known as Aṅgas. The kingdom of the Śibis was found by the king Śibi Auśīnara, the kingdom of the Videhas was founded by the king Videha, the kingdom of the Aṅgas was founded by the king Aṅga Vāleya, and so on.

Thus it seems to be true about Aṅga that places, regions, or even countries are named either after distinguished heroes of war of place or the people inhabiting them.

(B) (i) EXTENT

The ancient Aṅga country is supposed to have comprised the present Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts of Bihar excluding the parts lying to the north of the Gaṅgā. However, its limits have varied from time to time. Aṅga is said to have extended from Vaidyanātha up to Bhuvaneśa. Vaidyanātha is no doubt the same as Baidyanāthadhama in the Santhal Parganas District, very near

¹ *Vs.*, IV, 18; *Mt.*, 48, 25; *Bh.*, IX, 25.

² Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London, 1905, Vol. II, 181.

³ *Digha, Commentary*, I, 279.

⁴ *Digha, Commentary.*, I, 279.

⁵ *Mbh.*, II, 52.

⁶ *S.B.E.*, XIV. *Prayascitta Khāṇḍa*, 1-2. 13-14.

the southern frontiers of the Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts in Bihar. Bhuvaneśa reminds us of the celebrated Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri District of Orissa. The natural boundary on the north was Gaṅgā and according to *Campeya Jātaka*,¹ the river Campā flowed between the states of Magadha and Aṅga and thus formed the western boundary of Aṅga. Taking the Campā as the western limit of Aṅga, we shall have to assume on the basis of its present course, that a major portion of the district of Bhagalpur was not under the Aṅgas, but under the Magadhas. The Aṅga territory seems to have comprised the portions of Santhal Pargana and Bhagalpur district. We have no authoritative evidence to determine its limit on the south and the east. In the south-east of the Bhagalpur district, there is a place on the border of Bihar and West Bengal, called Teliagarhi, which was very important from the strategical point of view. In former days, armies would march from west to east through this pass of the Rajamahā hills.² This pass might have been the eastern limit of Aṅga, while on the south of this state comprised the northern portion of the Santhal Pargana. But, according to George Birdwood, the district of Birbhum and Murshidabad also formed a part of Aṅga.³

We have no evidence that at any time Aṅga expanded over such a large tract. If it is true, the Aṅgas must have risen to such an eminent position before the rise of Magadha. According to the *Mahābhārata* Aṅga may be supposed to have comprised the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr, and extended northwards up to the river Kosi. At one time the kingdom of Aṅga included Magadha and probably extended up to the sea⁴. It seems that the kings of Aṅga in those days expanded their territory in all directions. The *Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka*⁵ describes Rājagṛha as a city of Arya. The *Mahābhārata*⁶ refers to a king of Aṅga who sacrificed on the mount of Viṣṇupada, which is probably the sacred hill at Gaya.

¹ *Jā.*, IV., p. 506 pp. 454-468; *Aṅga Magadha ratāṇam antare*.

² Majumdar, R.C. : *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 5-6.

³ De, N.L. : *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 7.

⁴ *Mbh.*, *Ādiparva*, CIV, 4179 ff.

⁵ *Jā.*, Vol. VI. No. 545, pp. 225-329.

⁶ *Mbh.*, *Śānti Parva*, 29, 35.

This goes to suggest that Magadha was at sometime or other under the suzerainty of Aṅga. We find Aṅga and Vaṅga forming one Vishaya in the *Sabhāparva* of the *Mahābhārata*.¹ The *Kathā-Saritsāgara*² mentions that Viṭhāṅkapura was a city of Aṅga on the sea.

The commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* places Aṅga to the east of the Mahānadi.³ It will be seen that Baidyanāthdhāma is situated near the southern limits of the original Aṅga country, but Vaidyanātha may here indicate the district round the holy place, and the reference to Bhubanesvara many point to the country's extension towards the Bay of Bengal. The verse appears to place Aṅga to the south of the Gaṅgā, and it must be admitted that there is no definite evidence indicating the extension of the Aṅga country to the north of that river.

According to some manuscripts of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* Vaidyanātha-Mahādeva lay in the Jāṅgal (forest) — Jhārikhaṇḍa country which was situated to the north of the Dārukeśvara river and to the west of the Bhagirathi between Pañcakūta (the former Pañcakot State in the Manbhum District) and Kikaṭa (the Gaya region in South Bihar).

We have great doubts in accepting Vaṅga as a part of Aṅga. In later times Vaṅga was a territory in the south-east corner of the United Bengal. The area now falls in Eastern Pakistan. (Now Bangala Desh). As far as we know there was no territory called Vaṅga when the power of Aṅga was in the ascendancy. If the resources of such a vast dominion were at the disposal of the rulers of Aṅga, we do not find sufficient reasons for their defeat at the hands of Bimbisāra who was the chieftain of the then petty state of Magadha.

From the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁴ we gather that for some time the Aṅga kings either ruled the Kośī area (Kauśikī Kṣetra) or had overwhelming influence in this region. The courtesans of Aṅga are said to have beguiled Rishya Śṛṅga from his hermitage in this

¹ *Mbh.*, *Sabhāparva*, II., 44, 9.

² *Kathā-saritsāgara*, pp. 25, 26, 35, 115.

³ *Kāmasūtra*, VI. 6.

⁴ *Bāl.*, ch. 10.

area and brought him to the Āṅga capital. It would be hardly possible to perpetrate such act in a foreign territory.

The Kauśīkīkṣetra which lies to the north of Āṅga across the river Gaṅgā, was probably known as Āṅguttarāpa¹ to Buddhist scholars. The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* Commentary² explains it as a kingdom of Āṅga, near the water, across the Gaṅgā. This makes it quite clear that the region to the north of the Gaṅgā was sometimes looked upon, as a part of the Āṅgaśeṣa. This Āṅguttarāpa should thus be identified with the modern Purnea and Saharsa districts. A large part of these districts in our days remains submerged under water for the major part of the year. It is not improbable that the present condition prevailed in this area in the remote past and it is indicated in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* by the term Āṅguttarāpa, "the waters to the north of Āṅga".

Thus it would not be surprising if the Āṅga territory extended on both the banks of the Gaṅgā. The modern Saharsa district was formerly the northern part of the Bhagalpur district, from which it was separated only a few years back.

Magadha, which seems originally to have been a vassal of Āṅga, apparently threw off the yoke of servitude from its neck, sometime in the first half of the sixth century B.C., but was later invaded by Bimbisāra.³ The Āṅgas could not stand before the rising power of Magadha and their territory was permanently annexed, and a prince from Magadha ruled over Āṅga with its capital at Campā.⁴

Although Āṅga had no separate existence after the sixth century B.C., the later literary works very often refer to the kings of Āṅga. This is probably because the early ruler of Āṅga⁵ had once wielded a great deal of influence, which found expression in the works of scholars of the later centuries. The *Śaktisāṅgama Tantra* gives a fanciful boundary of the Āṅga country.⁶ The

¹ *Saṃyutta.*, Vol. II, pp. 437, 439.

² *Ibid.*, *Āṅga eva sō Janapādo, Gaṅgāya (Mahāmahi Gaṅgāya) Pana ya Uttarena āpo, tasm auidure.*

³ S.B.E., XVII. P.I; *Parīśiṣṭaparva.*, VII. 22.

⁴ *Niryāyālisūtra*, P. 3; J.A.S.B. (1914), p. 321.

⁵ *Alt.*, Brā. VIII. 2; *Samanātm Sārvatah Prthivīm Jayam.*

⁶ *Śaktisāṅgama Tantra.*, Ch. VII. 16.

description seems quite as exaggeration to suggest that Aṅga ever extended to such a distance as to comprise modern Bhuvaneśvara. It may be that the divisions of the countries in the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* are based on some special geographical terminology of Saktism. On the other hand this passage may simply represent the echo of the ancient glory of the king of Aṅga. Although the kingdom of Aṅga had become an integral part of the Magadhan empire, the region long retained its separate identity and we find it often mentioned in the inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the early 12th century it was under the sway of Mahana, the maternal grandfather of Kumāra Devi, the wife of Govindachandra of Kanauj, who was king Rāmapāla's viceroy in Aṅga.¹

Thus after a close study of the facts supplied by different sources, we may conclude that the kingdom of Aṅga comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr and extended northwards up to the Kośī river and included western portions of the district of Purnea. It also included some parts of modern Santhal-Paragana of Bihar. We have already mentioned above that Aṅga had also extended its supremacy over Magadha. We learn from the *Śāntiparva* that an Aṅga king sacrificed at Mount Viṣṇupada and thus it appears that the Aṅga kingdom at one time included Magadha, Brāhamadatta, the Aṅga king, defeated Magadha and conquered Rājagṛha.

(C) THE PEOPLE OF ANCIENT AṅGA

It is a complicated problem to determine the race, stock, and caste of the people of Aṅga. As early as the later vedic literature we find the *prācyas*, "the dwellers in the east" differentiated from the people who lived in the Upper Valley of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā. It is not known exactly which tribes were included in this term.² The connection of the peoples of the alluvial plains of the Gaṅgā and the Brāmhaputra, with those living lower down in the deltaic regions, which form the greater part of modern Bengal and Bihar, has always been of a more or less intimate character.

¹ Majumdar, R. C. : *History of Bengal*, Vol. I., pp. 165-166.

² Ray, H. C. : *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I (1931), p. 271.

It is likely that the Kāśis, the Kośalas, the Videhas, the Magadhas, the Angas and other eastern tribes known at that time to the Aryans are meant. But the fact that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to their mode of making tombs and disapproves of that custom makes it possible that there were cultural, if not also ethnic, differences between the peoples of the upper and lower Gaṅgā valley.¹ The epic story which makes Anga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Puṇdra, and Sumha the Ksetraja sons of the asura Bāli by his wife Sudesna through the agency of the Brāhmaṇa Sage Dirghatamas, seems to indicate at least the popular belief that these peoples formed a compact ethnic group. The physical measurements of the peoples of a large portion of Bengal and Bihar convinced Risley that they were mainly Dravido-Mangolian, with strain of Indo-Aryan blood which is more prominent in the west and in the higher groups.² In the western half of Bihar the Aryo-Dravidian features predominated, while in the east of Bengal the Mongolian type was more common. Though his theory has been criticised, the critics, however, admit that 'the people of the lower Gaṅgā valley belong to a different Aryan stock from those who composed the Vedic hymns. Whatever may be the ethnic and cultural affinity of the peoples of Bengal and Bihar, it is certain that the political relationship between them was sufficiently intimate'.³

Thus when we inquire into the history of the different political and geographical divisions of this region, such as Magadha, Videha, Anga, Vaṅga, Samātata, Puṇdra, Gauda, Rādha, Sumha etc., we find that from the beginning of imperialism in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., excepting periods of political disintegration, they have been generally under the administration of one government. Pargiter regards them as non-Aryan people that came over-sea to eastern parts of India.⁴ Whatsoever the case, this much is certain that most parts of India had always had mixed populations,⁵ composed of various races or stocks of people,

¹ Ray, H. C.: *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, 931, p. 271.

² Risley, H.: *People of India* (Census Report for 1901), pp. 292 ff.

³ Ray, H. C.: *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 271.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 852.

⁵ Nesfield, quoted by H. Risley in his *The People of India*, p. 20, says that the mixture of races in India is so complete that all Indians are of one race now.

since India has been their meeting ground. Aṅga was no exception.

Most of the rulers of Aṅga were Aryans and so were the people. Technically speaking, they were a mixture of Brachycephalic and the Nordic groups with fair complexion, medium or tall stature, yellowish or golden hair, tall heads, pointed and long noses, and sufficient hair on the chin and the upper lips. The next important section of the people of Aṅga was formed by the Austric groups. Besides the Aryans, they also seem to have contributed to the common culture of the land. Later on they became quite prominent in its history. The last element of the ancient people of Aṅga was constituted by the Mongoloid blood.

They were short or medium statured people with yellow skin, sharp hair, snub nose, round head, and slanting eyes. It is certain, however, that they formed a very significant portion of the population of Aṅga, stretched only on its north-eastern and northern fringe and belonged almost exclusively to the lower strata of the society. Little is known of their influence on other sections of the contemporary society. The Mongoloid features in a section of the north-east Indian population, that are found to day, are only a result of later migrations.¹

(D) IMPORTANT CITIES AND TOWNS, VILLAGES AND PLACES OF HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEO- LOGICAL IMPORTANCE :

Campā :

The kingdom of Aṅga had its capital named Campā, situated on the river of the same name² (modern Chāndan) and the Gaṅgā³ at a distance of 60 Yojanas from the Videhan capital named Mithilā.⁴ This is one of the oldest cities of India, and is frequently mentioned in Pāli, Prakṛta and Sanskrit literature. The *Āṅguttara Nikāya*⁵ describes it as the capital of Aṅga. The ancient name of

¹ *Vedic Age*, p. 143.

² *Jā.*, No. 506.

³ Watters, *On Yuan Chuang*, II, 181; *Daśakumāracarita*, 11, 2.

⁴ *Jā*, VII., 32; U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, chap. I.

⁵ *A.I.*, p. 213.

Campā was Mālīni or Mālīna.¹

The Jaina *Ayapātika Sūtra* refers to it as a city adorned with gates, ramparts, palaces, parks and gardens. According to it the city was a veritable paradise on earth full of wealth and prosperity, internal joy and happiness.² It was built by Mahagovinda.³ Its actual site is marked by the village named Campānagara and Campāpuri which still exist near Bhagalpur. Campā gradually increased in wealth, and traders sailed from here to Suvarṇabhūmi (Lower Burma) for the purpose of trade. The traders of Campā were perhaps among the first Indians to establish their settlements in those countries with the result that one of the famous countries in ancient South-East Asia came to be known as Campā. It was one of the six great cities of India.

It was a big town and not a village, as it was mentioned as such by Ananda while requesting the Master to obtain Parinirvāṇa in one of the big cities.⁴ The kingdom of Aṅga had 80,000 villages and Campā was one of them.⁵ It was also known by the name of Kālacampā.⁶

The name of the city seems to have been derived, according to Buddhaghōṣa,⁷ from the Campaka trees which grew in abundance on its site. It was variously known as Campānagara, Campānālīnī, Campāvati, Campāpuri and Campā. Among the seven political divisions into which India was divided, according to the *Dīgha Nikāya*,⁸ Aṅga was one of them having Campā as its capital. Here the twelfth Jīna named Vāṣupujya was born, who attained *Kevalajñāna* (perfect knowledge) and *nirvāṇa*. Karakaṇḍu installed the image of Pārśvanātha in the tank or Kunda. He afterwards attained perfection. Kunika, son of king Śreṇika, left Rājagṛha on the death of his father and made Campā his capital.⁹ We get a beautiful description of the merchants of

¹ *Mbh.*, XII, 5, 6-7; *Mt.*, 48, 97; *Va.*, 99, 105-6; *Hv.*, 32, 49.

² Law, B.C.: *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, p. 73.

³ *Dīgha*, II, 235.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁵ *Jā.*, No. 539.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, 32.

⁷ *M.A.*, II, 565.

⁸ *Dīgha*, II, 235.

⁹ Law, B.C.: *Some Jain Canonical Sūtras*, pp. 176, 73.

Campā from Jaina *Nāyādharmakāhā*.¹

It was frequented by Gośāla, the founder of Ājīvikism and Jamālī.² According to the *Mahābhārata*,³ it was a place of pilgrimage. It was visited by Hiuen Tsang who described it as such. It was about 4000 Li in circuit and known to the Chinese as Chenpō. The land was level and fertile, which was regularly cultivated. The people were simple and honest. There were Saṅghārāmas, mostly in ruins. There were also some Deva temples.⁴ Campā was ruled by Aśoka's son Mahinda, (Mahendra), his sons and grandsons.⁵ It was here that the Master prescribed the use of slippers by monks.⁶

When the Aṅga territory was annexed to Magadha, Campā⁷ remained the capital of viceroys coming from Magadha. But the city must have later sunk into comparative oblivion after the establishment of Tāmralipti and Pāṭaliputra. Although the city was not very important in later times, it was still deemed famous in literature,⁸ which records the ancient fame of the city handed down through traditions.

We do not know the cause of the decline of the city nor can we say whether it faced any foreign invasion before the advent of the Muslims. Its political significance was soon lost by the establishment of Pāṭaliputra as the capital not only of Magadha, but of whole India during the time of the Mauryas.

Mudgagiri :

The ancient city of Mudgagiri is identified with modern Monghyr. There is no doubt about its identification as inscriptions⁹ recording this name have been found here. The Monghyr Copper Plate of Devapāladeva, son of Dharmapāla, mentions it, which has been identified by Charles Wilkinson with modern

¹ Law, B.C. : *Some Jain Canonical Sūtras*, p. 197.

² *Bhagavati*, 15; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī*, p. 418.

³ *Mbh.*, *Vanaparvan*, ch. 185.

⁴ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II., pp. 191-192.

⁵ *Dīpavaṃsa*, 28.

⁶ *Vinaya Pitaka*, I., 179 ff.

⁷ *Parīśiṣṭaparva*, VII, 22.

⁸ *Daśakumārācārita*, II., 2; *Harṣacārita*, p. 199.

⁹ *E I.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-27; XVIII, pp. 304-307.

Monghyr.¹ It indicates that Modagiri or Mudgagiri was included in the kingdom of Devapāla. It was also known as Mudalapuri and Mudgalāśrama. The Mudgalas or the people of Monghyr are referred to in the *Mahābhārata*.² It is interesting to learn that after defeating Kārṇa, the king of Aṅga, Bhimasena fought a battle at Modagiri and killed its chief. The place is known to have been the site of the royal camp of the Pāla kings in the 10th century A.D. The *Mahābhārata*.³ mentions it as a separate state, although we have doubts in the trustworthiness of the statement. From *Mahābhārata*,⁴ we gather that the Kauśikī Kṣetra and Modāgiri had their own kings. It may be suggested that parts of Mudgagiri across the Gaṅgā, might have cut off its relation with Aṅga and formed a principality of its own. The territory of Modāgiri may have comprised the region adjoining the present Patna and Gaya districts. In the *Digvijaya Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* we find the mention of Muda-Giri which seems to be the same as Modā-Giri.⁵ *Digvijaya Parva* suggests that Monghyr was a monarchical state during early times. It is said that Mudgalaputra, a disciple of the Buddha, converted a rich merchant of the place to Buddhism. Hence the place was known after him.⁶ According to Buchanan it was the hermitage of "Mudgala Muni" and this tradition of Mudgalarsi still persists. Hiuen Tsang⁷ mentions the village "I-lan-ha-po-fa-lo" which is identified with the modern district of Monghyr. The capital, Hiranyaparvata, lay on the southern bank of the Gaṅgā. The pilgrim estimated the circuit of this kingdom as 3000 Li, equivalent to 500 miles. Cunningham⁸ fixes its limit as extending from Lakhisarai to Sultanganj on the Gaṅgā in the north and from the western end of the Pārasanātha hill to the junction of the Barākar and the Damuda river in the south.⁸ Hiuen Tsang mentions it as an independent kingdom. Besides, there is no other historical

¹ *Gaudalekhamālā*, I, pp. 33 ff.

² *Mbh.*, *Drauparvan*, XI, 397.

³ *Mbh.*, II, 30: 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 30, 21.

⁵ *Mbh.*, ch. VI, 29.

⁶ *Mbh.*, II, 30-21.

⁷ *On Yuan Chwang.*, II, p. 178.

⁸ *A.I.G.*, p. 546.

⁹ *Ibid.*

evidence to throw any light upon the independent principality of Modāgiri or Mudgagiri.

Sultanganj :

Sultanganj is situated on the right bank of the Gaṅgā about fifteen miles to the west of Bhagalpur.¹ It is a famous ancient historical place. The elevated square at the western extremity of the town is called Karnagarh after king Karṇa, of the *Mahābhārata* who is believed to have erected a fort at this site. This Rāja Karṇa is said to have constructed other forts at Campānagara and Monghyr. All these forts of Karṇa, as their sites indicate, stood on the right bank of the Gaṅgā. The Gaṅgā takes its north-bound turn at this place and hence it has been deemed very sacred. The Ajagaibinātha hill standing in the bed of the Gaṅgā is an special attraction of Sultanganj. This hill is also known as Jahangiri. It seems to be a corrupt form of Jahnugiri,² the hill of Jahnu, the famous Hindu sage. There are many images and they are mostly Brāhmaṇical.

Ajagaibinātha is a place of great sanctity in the eyes of the Hindus. A few small³ inscriptions in Gupta characters prove the antiquity of the place. Several Buddhist images were unearthed when digging was done for the foundation work of the building in our age. This points to the existence of some sort of Buddhist establishment at this site in former days.

Sultanganj was an important seat of Buddhism. A huge copper image of Buddha along with several precious things of the Buddhists have been unearthed from here. Remains of Buddhist monasteries have also been found.⁴ These go to suggest that Sultanganj was a centre of Buddhism. Beautiful figures of Brahmanical gods and goddesses have been carved on this hill. Among them the figures of Sesasāyi Viṣṇu, Umāmaheśvara and Śūrya are more prominent.

From Archaeological point of view, Sultanganj is a place

¹ B.D. Gazetters, p. 175.

² Pandey, M.S. : *Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar*, p. 179.

³ A.S.I., Vol. XV, pp. 20-30.

⁴ Choudhary, A.K. : *Bhagalpur and its Historical Surroundings* (1968) (Sultanganj), p. 40.

of considerable importance and eminence. Partial excavations and exploration work, conducted there from time to time, have brought to light a Buddhist monastery, a stupa and coins and several sculptures in the relief and round.¹

In fact, this place is well known mainly on account of wonderful images and it has made richer and more tangible contributions to the Hindu iconography than to the Buddhist. Most of the sculptures from these sites are still unpublished and they are rapidly decaying under the subjection of the cruel agencies of nature.²

As regards the chronology of the two sites at Sultanganj, Cunningham may be correct in his hypothesis, on the basis of a few inscribed sculptures, that both of them were flourishing during the 3rd century A.D. This does not, however, necessarily mean that all the sculptures belong to the Gupta period.

Vikramaśīla :

The site of the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra remained a subject of controversy since long and it could not be finally identified by Cunningham, A. Banerji Shastri and others. We learn from the accounts of Tāranātha³ that the Vihāra was situated on a high cliff on the right bank of the Gaṅgā. Cunningham⁴ locates it at Silao, six miles to the north of Rājagṛha. According to S.C. Vidyabhushana⁵, Jhangira hill (Sultanganj) may be located as the site of Vikramaśīla. Keur, near Hulasganj in the district of Gaya has been identified as the site of this renowned seat of learning by A. Banerjee Sastri.⁶

Controversy over the identification of the site of Vikramsila seems to have subsided and the scholars have turned their attention towards Patharghata to find out the ruins and remains of this renowned seat of learning. The majority of scholars⁷ are in

¹ J.A.S.B., Vol. XXXIII, 1864, p. 36 ff; A.S.R., Vol. 15, 1879-80, p. 20 ff.

² A.S.R.; Vol. 15, p. 24.

³ Tāranātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismum in Indien*, p. 217.

⁴ A.S.I., III, p. 83.

⁵ *Bhārati* (Vaisākha, 1315) 1909.

⁶ J.B.O.R.S., XV, pp. 263-76.

⁷ J.A.S.B., (1909), pp. 1-13.

favour of its identification with the Patharghat hill, 24 miles to the south-east of Bhagalpur and about seven-eight miles to the north-east of Kahalgaon (Colgong). Cunningham's theory can not be tenable in the light of the fact that the mounds which he found at Silao are not big enough to be the site of a University.

The local tradition about the association of mounds with king Vikramāditya, which, according to him, suggests that it was Vikramaśīla, is not an unusual one in North India. We can not believe such traditions. The same argument can be advanced in case of Keur also. According to A. Banerjee-Sastri,¹ Nālandā and Vikramaśīla universities should have been in one locality as the same persons were in charge of both the universities. But this view of Sastri has wide room for discussion. It was difficult to run two parallel universities in one locality in ancient times, especially institutions of such high standard where only higher education was imparted. The view of S. C. Vidyabhushana does not seem to be correct that the university was established at the Jhangira hill near Sultanganj. The hill at Sultanganj is in the river Gaṅgā bifurcating its water, and its small space does not permit us to suppose it to have been the site of a big Mahāvihāra.

In the German translation of Tāranātha's work, we are told that Gaya was almost one day's journey from Vikramaśīla. But the original text² describes one of the masters of Vikramaśīla saying to a student "now go quickly and reach the city of Gaya at midday on the day after tomorrow". It is not difficult to reach Gaya from Patharghat in two days or a little more on horse back or any fast vehicle. Tāranātha has written about India after the destruction of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra and hence it may not be necessarily correct. The source of his information was a tradition. The Patharghat hill is situated on the right bank of the Gaṅgā. Buchanan visited Patharghata on January 16, 1811. At a distance of a mile or more to the south-east of the Patharghata hill he found the ruins of a structure called the Dorohor (Dharohara), supposed to have been a Rāja's house.

¹ *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XXV.

² *Tāranāthae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione.*, p. 183., line 20.

To him, however, it appeared to be a round hill about fifty feet in perpendicular height, and on further thought he took it to have been a solid temple, thereby meaning a Buddhist stupa in case it had been a building at all.

The Patharghat may be the hill referred to by Hiuen Tsang¹ as there were Brāhmanical gods on this hill according to the Pilgrim. N. L. De thinks that the place was formerly in the hands of the *Brāhmaṇas* and was later taken over by the Buddhists². It was N. L. De who suggested for the first time that Patharghata was the probable site of the Vikramaśīla university. J. N. Samaddar also accepts the view of N. L. De, regarding the identification of royal university of Vikramaśīla.

The Patna University has undertaken the work of excavation at Antichak. Several objects, structures and inscriptions have been unearthed from this site. Among them Buddhist decorative plaques, Buddhist deities, images of Buddha, terracotta votive stupas, a brick stupa with monasteries all around it and an inscription on a terracotta votive stupa in the 10th century character referring to Shri Dharmaka who is identified with Dipankarajñāna Śrī, are more important. These along with the location of the site go a long way to prove the existence of the Vikramaśīla university at this very place. It was situated on the right bank of the river Gangā and thus it was the best suited place for a university. Considering, however, all the factors as a whole, the site near Antichak and Patharghata can be regarded as the actual site of Vikramaśīla.

This university was founded by Dharmapāla in the 9th century A. D.³ and it continued to flourish until it was destroyed by the Muslim invaders at the end of 12th century A.D. The ancient name of the place is not known to us. Franklin cites a line from the *Caurapañcāśīla* which states that it was known as Śīlāsaṅgama.⁴ According to N.L. De⁵ Śīlāsaṅgama is merely a corruption of Vikramaśīla Saṅghārama. We, however, do not find the word Śīlāsaṅgama in the book *Caurapañcāśīlā*. It seems that Franklin

¹ On Yuan Chwang, II, p. 161.

² J.A.S.B., (1909), pp. 1—13.

³ Tāranātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, p. 242.

⁴ Site of Ancient Pāṭaliputra (1815), p. 55; Appendix XIII.

⁵ G.D.A.M.I., pp. 26-27.

consulted a manuscript version of the poem with a corrupt reading.

The early account of Vikramaśīla has not been mentioned in Pāli or Sanskrit literatures. The university was patronised by the Pāla kings. The Vikramaśīla was the place where good conduct or high morality was the strength of the people. The meaning of the word Vikramaśīla may be taken in the sense of good conduct or morality. The university was found on the pattern of Nālandā. Though the Pāla rulers helped the Nālandā university also, but they paid more attention to Vikramaśīla. The main reason of this partiality seems to have originated from the fact that the rise of Nālandā could not be attributed to the Pāla kings, while Vikramaśīla was their own creation and they alone were credited for its rise. We do not know the reason why this site was selected for a university. However, it earned great popularity in due course and became a famous centre of Tantrism.¹ Some of the great scholars of this university went to Tibet² to reform the deteriorated Buddhism of that land. Their contributions are still found in Tibetan literature.

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Ṛsyaśṛṅga-āśrama :

The sage Ṛsyaśṛṅga had his hermitage at Rsikunda, 28 miles to the west of Bhagalpur and four miles to the south west of Bariarpur. It was situated in a circular valley formed by the Maira hill (Maruk hill). The Rsikunda was a tank which was the collection of the combined water of springs, hot and cold, near this hermitage. On the north side of this tank the sage Ṛsyaśṛṅga and his father Bibhāṇḍaka used to meditate. The Ṛsyaśṛṅgaparvata, situated at a distance of eight miles to the south of the Kajra station, claims the honour of being the hermitage of the sage.³ From the proximity of the Rsikunda to the Gangā, which afforded facility to the public women sent by Lomapāda, king of Aṅga, to entice away the young sage from his seclusion, preference may be given to it as the likely place where the sage and his father performed austerities. According to the *Mahābhārata*⁴ this hermit-

¹ J.A.S.B (1891), Vol , II, p 51.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Rām. Ādikāṇḍa*, ch. 9.

⁴ *Mbh*, *Vānaparva* cha. 110, 111.

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age is said to have been situated not far from the river Kośī (ancient Kauśiki) and is 24 miles from Campā.

Śitakūṇḍa :

There is a village known as Śitakūṇḍa in the district of Monghyr. It is situated four miles east of the town of Monghyr.¹ There is hot spring here which is known as Śitakūṇḍa. It is believed that this place is associated with the well-known episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.² Rām, after rescuing his wife Śita from the demon king Ravaṇa, suspected that she could not have maintained her honour intact, and Śita to prove her chastity, agreed to enter a blazing fire. She came out of the fiery ordeal unscathed, and imparted to the port in which she bathed the heat she had absorbed from the fire. It is visited by large number of pilgrims, especially at the full moon of Māgha.

Close to the Śitakūṇḍa spring there is a Hindu temple; and to the north is a reservoir of cold water known as the Rāmkuṇḍa; while to the west there are three more pools called, after the three brothers of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇkūṇḍa, and Bhāratakūṇḍa and Satrugṇakūṇḍa.

Sanghaul :

It is a village situated near Ullao in the district of Monghyr.³ It has yielded a number of historical and archaeological finds including the figure of Apsarā, a broken female figure in black stone and a broken inscribed image of Buddha.⁴

Rampura :

It is a village under P.O. Lakhisarai in the district of Monghyr. In this village three broken and inscribed images of Buddha have been found. These images belong to the Pāla period. They are all in black stone.⁵

Puraghat :

It is a village near Manjhaul in Monghyr district (now

¹ J.A.S.B., 1890.

² Roy Choudhury, P.C. : *Bihar District Gazetteers*, Monghyr, (1960), p. 517.

³ Roy Chaudhury, P.C. : *Bihar District Gazetteers*, Monghyr (1960), p. 513.

⁴ Choudhary, R.K. : Bulletin no. 4 J.A.H.S. and Museum, G.D. College, Begusarai, 1959.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Begusarai district). From here many ancient coins have been procured.¹

Rajaona (Rohinālā) :

It is a village in the Monghyr district. This village has been identified by General Cunningham with Lo-in-ni-lo, a place visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, which possessed a Mahavihara and stupa erected by Aśoka. Rajaona is a village surrounded by numerous mounds.² There are many Buddhist statues and sculptures here, but nearly all of them have been carried off to different temples and Indian Museum. Some statues still exist at an ancient mound called Raghugarh.³

Nongarh :

It is a village in the Jamui subdivision (Monghyr) situated on the west bank of the Kiul river about 11 miles southeast of Lakhisarai.⁴ The village derives its name from a great mound called Nongarh, which is 40 feet in height and 200 feet in diameter at the base. It was evidently an ancient Buddhist stupa. It was excavated by Cunningham. About 200 feet to the east of the stupa, there are the remains of a monastery.

Jaimangalagadh : (Jaimangalgarh) :

It is a site of historical and archaeological importance in the Begusarai sub-division of the Monghyr (now Begusarai district) on an excavation of the site a number of relics belonging to remote past have been unearthed. Some figures of Hindu and Buddhist divinities⁵ of the Pāla period, terra-cotta, glazed ware etc. have been found. This place seems to be ancient Buddhist site of which we have no detailed account.

Indpe :

It is a village in the Jamui subdivision of Monghyr district. It is situated four miles south of Jamui and two miles north of Khaira. It contains the remains of a large fort attributed by local

¹ Choudhary. R.K. : Bulletin no. 4 *J.A.H.S. and Museum*, G.D. College, Begusarai, 1959.

² *Bihar District Gazetteers*, Monghyr, p. 512.

³ *A.S.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 151-6; Vol. XV, pp. 13-15.

⁴ *A.S.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 120.

⁵ *G.D. College Bulletin*, No. I.

tradition to Indradyumna, who is believed to have been the last of the Pāla kings.¹

Nandapura :

The Nandapura copper plate inscription (dated the Gupta Yr. 169) of Buddhagupta refers to Nandapura, which is a village in the district of Monghyr. It lies on the southern bank of the Gāṅgā at a distance of about two miles to the north-east of Surajgarhā in the district of Monghyr.²

Uren :

Uren is a village in the Monghyr district. It is situated close to the railway three miles west of Kajra station. It contains several Buddhistic remains, which were first discovered by Colonel Waddell, who identified the site with the place where the Buddha converted a Yaksha king called Vakula.³ It is described by Hiuen-Tsang in the following words : "On the western frontier of the country of I-lan-na-po-fa-to, to the south of the river Gāṅgā, we came to a small solitary mountain with a double peak rising high. Formerly Buddha in this place rested during the three months of rain and subdued the Yaksha Vakula (Yo-Cha-po-Khu). Below a corner of the south-east of the mountain is a great stone. On this are marks caused by Buddha sitting thereon. The marks are about an inch deep, five feet two inches long, and two feet one inch wide. Above them is built a stupa. Again to the south is the impression on a stone where Buddha set down his Kiun-Chi-Kia (water vessel). In depth the lines are about an inch, and are like a flower with eight buds. Not far to the south-east of the spot are the foot traces of the Yaksha Vakula. They are about one foot five or six inches long. Seven or eight inches wide, and in depth less than two inches. Behind these traces of the Yaksha is a stone figure of Buddha in sitting posture, about six feet high. Next to the west, not far off, is a place where Buddha walked for exercise. Above this mountain top is the old residence of the Yaksha. Next to the north is a foot trace of Buddha a foot and eight inches long and perhaps six inches wide and half inches deep. Above it stupa is erected. Formerly when Buddha sub-

¹ *Bihar District Gazetteers, Monghyr*, p. 471.

² E.I., XXIII, Pt. II, April, 1935, p. 53.

³ *Bihar District Gazetteers, Monghyr*, p. 521.

dued the Yaksha, he commanded him not to kill men nor eat their flesh. Having respectfully received the law of Buddha, he was born in heaven. To the west of this are six or seven hot springs. The water is exceedingly hot".¹ Proper excavations may still yield antiquities. The largest mound, and probably the site of various monasteries and temples, is now covered by the modern village of Uren.²

Nawalagadh (Naulagarh) :

This village is situated in the Begusarai Subdivision of the Monghyr district³ (now Begusarai district). A large number of archaeological antiquities have been found here. We also find the remains of an old fort. The place seems to be an ancient one, but we can not identify it with any known ancient place name. The history of the site goes back to the Buddhist period.

Kṛmilā :

Kṛmilā was the name of a Viṣaya.⁴ The modern village of Kiul bears some similarity to the name of medieval Kṛmlā and so the city may have been somewhere in that locality. It was a city as the headquarters of the same Viṣaya. This city does not find any mention in early Pāli literature. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya Commentary*⁵ a city named Kṛmilā is mentioned. The *Purāṇas*⁶ often allude to this city and call it a city of Kṛmilā, a legendary king.

The city has been mentioned in various inscriptions⁷ of the early medieval period. It has been called an Adhiṣṭhāna⁸ in one of the inscriptions. As some inscriptions referring to this city have been found in the village of Balgudar in the Monghyr district. Sircar thinks that the area round the present village of Balgudar may be the Kṛmilā Viṣaya.⁹ He is inclined to identify

¹ *Bihar District Gazetteers*, Monghyr, p. 521.

² *Report Arch. Surv. Bengal Circle*, 1902-03.

³ *G.D. College Bulletin*, No. 1.

⁴ *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 306.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I^r, p. 642.

⁶ *Bd.*, III, 74; *Va.* ch. 99, 22.

⁷ *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 306; XXVIII, pp. 137-145.

⁸ *E.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.

the city of Kṛmilā with Balgudar. But we do not find justification to identify the city of Kṛmilā with Balgudar. We know from the *Anguttara Nikāya Commentary* that the city stood on the bank of the Gaṅgā. But now the Gaṅgā flows at a distance from this region, which may be due to the change in its course during so many centuries.

The city does not seem to have been very important and we do not know how and when it disappeared. It is possible that some slabs and images bearing the name Kṛmilā, which have been found at Balgudar, may have been taken to that village from other places. The name of this village does not bear any resemblances to the name Kṛmilā. It is very difficult to trace even the ruins of the city, therefore, it is more likely that it was washed away by the Gaṅgā.

Bhadrāpushkaraka and Purnanaga :

The Nālandā Plate of Samudra Gupta mentions these places.¹ We are not in a position to identify them in the present state of our knowledge.

Meshikā :

The Monghyr Plate of Devapāla² mentions this village. It formed a part of Kṛmimilā Viśaya. The Plate is not identifiable.

Nagaldāmaka :

The name of this place occurs in an inscription³ which Sircar found in the Teghara Police area of the Monghyr District (now Begusarai district). The inscription probably belongs to the 13th or 14th century A.D. and thus it appears that the name of this place was the same even in earlier centuries. This place has not been identified as yet.

Kāvāla :

We find the name of the village mentioned in a Nalanda seal⁴ as Kāvāla (or Cha) in the Kṛmilā Viśaya. This village may have

¹ *E.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 50—53.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 306.

³ *Ibid.*, Col. XXX, p. 86.

⁴ *M.A.S.I.*, No. 66 (S.I. 824), p. 34.

stood somewhere in the locality round Kiul in the Monghyr district. This village is also referred to the Nālandā Plate of Samudra Gupta.¹ The place is not yet identified.

Kākandī :

The place is said to have the birth place of the ninth Tirthaṅkara² and Māhāvīra³ is said to have visited it. It was variously known as Kāgandī or Kaīndī. It is identified by Rahula Sāṅkṛtyāyana with Kakan⁴ in the Monghyr district. This identification seems to be correct.

Kayalisamagāma or Kayaligāma :

According to the Jaina literature this is of great importance. Māhāvīra arrived here from Bhaddiya and left for Jambusāṇḍa.⁵ Its identification is vague. This place seems to be Kahalgaon⁶ in the district of Bhagalpur.

Mandira :

The sixteenth Tirthaṅkara received his first alms⁷ in this village. It has been identified with Mandāragiri⁸ by Jaina. We have no further information.

Assapura :

In the *Pāli literature*⁹ this place has been mentioned as a *nigama* of Aṅga. It is generally believed that Assapura was founded by the second son of king Uparichara¹⁰ of Cedi. Most of the towns or states of eastern India are ascribed to the Cedi dynasty. It seems probable that it may be founded by the latter. According to *Cedī Jātaka*¹¹ Assapura was to the south of Sovatthī, the Cedi capital. The direction as recorded in the *Jātaka* is wrong, if Assa-

¹ E.I., Vol. XXV, pp. 50—53.

² *Āvaśyaka Nirṇuktī*, 382.

³ *Aṅguttara*, p. 61.

⁴ *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, (July 1944), p. 8.

⁵ *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jaina Canons*, p. 258.

⁶ *Bengal Village Directory*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 70.

⁷ *Āvaśyak Nirṇuktī*, p. 324.

⁸ *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jaina Canons*, p. 311.

⁹ *M.A.*, pp. 271, 281.

¹⁰ *Jā.*, III, 460.

¹¹ *Jā.*, III, 460.

pura was in the kingdom of Anga which was to the east of the Cedi kingdom. It may be possible that Assapura to the south of Sovatthi was another place. It is difficult to identify it in the present state of our knowledge due to scarcity of sufficient materials.

Pīthi Campā :

Māhāvīra arrived here from Chorāga and proceeded to Kayangala. This place was some where near Compā.¹ Its situation is not exactly known, but it should be somewhere in Bhagalpur district.

Arakkuri :

We know from the *Āvaśyaka Nirukti*² that this village was situated on the border of Campā. The place has not exactly been identified. But it is believed to be in the district of Bhagalpur.

Bhaddiya ;

It was a town in the Angadesha. N.L. De³ has identified this nagara with Bhadaria, eight miles to the south of Bhagalpur. Buddha and Māhāvīra often visited this place which shows its importance on the similarity of name, the identification seems convincing. Rāhula Sanskritayāna⁴ has identified it with Monghyr. But this place seems to be nearer to Campā, hence his identification is no more tenable.

(E) IMPORTANT RIVERS AND HILLS OF ANGA

Cāndan :

The Cāndan river forms the boundary between Anga in the east and Magadha in the west.⁵ This river rises in two streams in the north-west of the Santhalpargana and flows to the north. It falls into the Gaṅgā to the east of Bhagalpur proper, between Barari and Ghoghari. We find different names of the river in different periods of history. It was known by the name of Mā-

¹ *Āvaśyaka Nirukti*, p. 1207.

² *Āvaśyaka Tika*, p. 383 a.

³ *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 30.

⁴ *Vinaya Pīṭaka*, p. 298 (note)

⁵ *Jā.* IV. 454

linī¹ and Cāndana.² The latter name seems to be more famous as it still survives in the form Cāndan. It is known by the name of Campā³ in the Buddhist literature. It is not mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* at all. In the *Mahābhārata*⁴ it is referred to several times. The river formed a part of the territory of Jarāśandha. Jarāśandha offered this region to Karṇa. In the same work it is called the Māla.⁵ The name seems to be shorter form of Mālinī or a discrepancy may have crept in owing to the mistakes of copyists. Kṛṣṇa along with Bhīma and Arjuna is said to have crossed the river on the way to Rājagṛha from Kurukṣetra. This river is placed with the Carmanvati in north Bihar. The author seems to have had no knowledge of the geography of this part of the country. Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas would never have had to cross the Mālinī on the way to Rājagṛha. Kalidāsā⁶ also mentions a river Mālinī in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* but it seems to be a different river near Hastinapura. The river Campā or Cāndanā formed the eastern boundary of Magadha and on its bank⁷ lived probably a wild tribe of Nāgas who helped Bimbisāra in conquering Aṅga.

The *Purāṇas*⁸ call it Cāndanā and deem it an important river. The *Abhidhānchintāmaṇi*⁹ calls it by both the names of Campā and Mālinī. According to the *Jinavīṭasa*¹⁰ this river is named Aranyavāha or the torrent through the wilderness. It seems that names such as these were not those by which the common people knew the river but were appellations given to it by scholars. This river is called Sulakṣiṇī or Candrāvati in the *Kṣetra Samāsa*.¹¹

Gaggara :

It was a tank not far from the city of Campā. It was dug by

¹ G.D.A.M I., p. 168.

² *Abhidhānchintāmaṇi*, IV, 42.

³ *Jā.*, IV, 454 (*Campeyajātaka*)

⁴ *Mbh.*, II., 20, 28.

⁵ *Mbh.*, II, 20, 28.

⁶ *Act.*, VI., Verse, 17.

⁷ *Jā.*, IV., No. 454.

⁸ *Vā.*, 108., 79.

⁹ *Ch.*, IV., 42.

¹⁰ *Asiatic Researches*, XIV., p. 401.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

the queen of Gaggara. On the bank of this tank the Master taught the people of Campā his doctrine.¹

This tank may be identified with the large silted up lake now called Sarovara situated on the skirts of Campānagara, from the depth of which Buddhist and Jaina statues were recovered.²

Hills :

Antargiri and Bahirgiri :

These ranges belong to the Santhalparagana in Bihar, inhabited by the Antargiryas, mentioned in the Bhīsmaparva list of the *Mahābhārata*. The Antaragiryas were the people dwelling on the Bhagalpur and Monghyr regions. It is also known as Kālakavana according to Pātañjali.³

These names show that they are mountains, but in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,⁴ they have been described as the peoples living in the eastern region. The *Matsya Purāṇa*⁵ refers to them in the singular as the Antargiri and Bahirgiri. As they are mentioned between the Mudarkaras and Pravaṅgas, Pargiter⁶ identifies the Antargiri with the people living in an area encircled by the modern Rajamahā hills and the Bahirgiri with those who lived on the outskirts of the hill. According to the *Mahābhārata*⁷, the Antargiri and the Bahirgiri were conquered by Arjuna. In this context they seem to have been living somewhere in the eastern part of the Himalyas. It appears, there were no hills of these names and the terms were applied to the people only.

The Puranic dromiclers and compilers of the *Mahābhārata* probably had no idea of the geography of the eastern region. So in the present state of knowledge, we can not locate these hills accurately.

¹ *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I., 279.

² *J.A.S.B.*, 1914., p. 355.

³ *Mahābhāṣya*, II., 4. 10.

⁴ *Ch.*, 57.

⁵ *Ch.*, CXVII.

⁶ *Mr.*, p. 325.

⁷ *Mbh.*, II., XXVII., 3.

Patharghata :

This hill is in the Bhagalpur district situated on the southern bank of the Gaṅgā. On the north side of this hill there are some ancient rock sculptures. This hill also contains some caves. It is probably the Śilāsaṅgama¹ according to N. L. De. The Vikramaśīla University was situated in the neighbourhood of this hill.

The Mandār Hill :

Like other important hills of ancient India, the Mandār hill occupies a unique and glorious place in the cultural and religious annals of ancient Aṅga. Apart from literature, numerous inscriptions, sculptures and architectural remains speak highly of its association with India's mythology as well as the antiquity of its surroundings.

The hill is situated at a distance of about 30 miles to the south-east of modern Bhagalpur district (Bihar) and to the east of the river Candanā. It is a massive rock of granite which is stretched in about the area of three-four miles. The *Purāṇas* and other literary texts, refer to it as *mandāra*, or *mandaara* or *mandarachala*. It appears from the *Purāṇas* that at the time of the churning of the sea of milk by the Devas (Aryans) and the Asuras (non-Aryans), this hill was made the churningrod.² From a minute study of this sea-churning legend of the *Purāṇas*, it is evident that the region of Mandar hill was under the direct control of the non-Aryans.³ That is why even today, we find that this area is largely populated by the non-Aryan tribes of the Santhals, Bhumiya and Kadaras etc.

The different *Purāṇas*, viz. the *Kūrma*, the *Vāmana* and the *Vārāha*, state that the Mandār hill has been a noted centre of the Bhāgavatas or the Vaiṣnavas. In one *Purāṇa*, it is stated that all the Bhāgavatas have a great affection for the Mandār.⁴ God Viṣṇu with the title of Madhusūdana (destroyer of Madhu) resides

¹ G.D.A.M I, p. 185.

² *Vs.*, I, ch. IX., V. 84; *Pd*, brahmākhaṇḍa, ch. VIII vv. 20-21; *Kr.*, ch. I, v. 27.

³ Cf. Chaudhury, A.K., *Mandāra Paricaya.*, Bhagalpur, 1956, pp. 17-27.

⁴ *Vr.*, ch. 143., v. 2.

there.¹ The *Narasimha Purāṇa* records that *mandāragiriketanah* (one having mount mandara as his abode, symbol or standard) is one of the appellations of Viṣṇu.² It appears from an inscription in Sanskrit in the Maithili script, found on a slab of stone at the foot of the hill, that during the reign of Mughal emperor Akbar worship of God Madhusūdāna on or near Mandār Hill was done. This inscription further states that Chatrapati, son of Vāsudeva built an abode of victory (temple) for god Madhusūdāna in the śaka year 1521 (A.D. 1599) when Duṣśāsana, a brāhmaṇa was acting as the priest.³

On the western side of the hill, in a dark cave, there is an image of Narasimha carved in the rock, and near it is an image of Vamanadeva and Madhusudana.⁴ Thus, worship of god Narasimha on Mandār hill also bears testimony to its being a seat of the Bhāgavatas.

From Vaidyanātha temple inscriptions at Deoghar in the district of Santhalpargana, it appears that king Ādityasena along with his queen Konadevī made an establishment of god Nṛhari (men-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu) at Mandār hill.⁵ Apart from this inscription, two more inscriptions from Mandār in Sanskrit state that one of the tanks of Mandār area was excavated by Konadevī,⁶ the wife of king Ādityasena of Magadha. This clearly shows that Āṅga in the seventh century A.D. formed a part of the kingdom of the Guptas of Magadha.

It appears from the Mandār hill inscription of Deoghar that an image of God Varāha (the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu) was installed by one Balabhadra on Mandār hill. This hill is further noted for the three figures of Viṣṇu lying on his serpent bed. The *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa refers to the footmarks of Viṣṇu on the slopes of Mandāra.⁷ It is just possible that the present

¹ *Nr.*, ch. 65, v. 7; *Gr.*, ch. 81., v. 15; *Agn.*, ch. 305, v. 9.

² *Ibid.*

³ Vide : *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Nov., 1870, p. 295.

⁴ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XX, p. 272.

⁵ Vide : *J.A.S.B.*, LII, Pt. I, 1883, pp. 190-191., No. 3; also see *CII.*, III, 1888, pp. 212-213, fn. 6.

⁶ *CII.*, III, p. 211.

⁷ *Kumārasambhava*, v. 23.

Mandār hill is same as the Mandāra of Kālidāsa, since the former still contains several footmarks carved out on the rock.

Thus, it is clear from the above perusal that Mandār hill has been an important seat of the Bhāgavatas since long. It was possibly this sanctity of Mandār hill as a Vaiṣṇavite centre that impelled Caitanya, the great Vaiṣṇava saint of Bengal, to pay a visit to this place in A.D. 1505.¹

From the statements of several *Purāṇas*, it appears that Mandār hill was an abode of Lord Śiva as well.² This is the reason why even today we find certain Śivalingas on the hill.

Like the Vaiṣṇavites, the Jainas also treat the Mandār hill as a sacred place. According to their belief the 12th Tīrthaṅkar Vāsupūjyanātha of Campāpurī (Campānagar, Bhagalpur) attained nirvāṇa on this very hill. The Jainas visit and offer worship to this hill every year in a large number. But, the old traces of Jainism are not available on or near this hill.

Megasthenese³, the Greek philosopher, knew Mandāra as the Mount Maleus. But due to lack of material it is difficult to say anything with certainty about this identification of Megasthenese. The *Mahābhārata*⁴ also mentions a hill of the name, but it seems to be another Mandāra, somewhere in the Himalaya range.

Though there are many Buddhist remains and sculptures on Mandār hill, even then we do not find its mention in the Buddhist literature. On the other hand, the Hindu scriptures are full of allusions to this hill. It is possible that at first the Hindus had their strong hold on this hill and that the Buddhist temporarily established themselves there later, but were ousted by the Hindus again.⁵

Several *Purāṇas* and other literary texts mention Mandār as a sacred place or a place of pilgrimages⁶ and it contains eleven

¹ Vide; Prabhudatta Brahmachari, *Śrī Śrī Caitanya Caritāvali*, 3rd ed. Pt. I, p. 250.

² *Lg.*, ch. 53., v. 9; *Vm.*, ch. 66., vv. 42—48.

³ *Indika.*, X.

⁴ *Anuśāsana Parva*, ch. XIX; *Vana Parva*, ch. 162.

⁵ Pandey, M.S.: *Geography of Ancient Bihar*, 1963, p. 50.

⁶ *Vr.*, ch. 143; *Nr.*, ch. 65; *Gr.*, ch. 81., vv. 15-16; also *Kṛityakalpataru*, p. VIII., ch. 16

Kundas in all.¹ According to *Varāha Purāṇa*, persons having baths in the Mandār Kunda achieve the highest goal and those who give up life in this Kunda go to the world of Viṣṇu.² There is nearby a tank called Pāpaharaṇī, which is identified with Mandār Kunda. It is said that one who takes bath in this tank absolves himself of his sins. According to a local tradition a certain Colarāja was cured of his leprosy by bathing in this tank. After that he made this place his capital and beautified it with bazars and roads worthy of a capital.

Though, we should not give much credence to these legendary accounts, even then, it seems quite probable that in the tenth or eleventh century A.D. Magadha, Āṅga, Vaṅga, and Rāḍha were the territories which the Cola king ravaged. Hence, it is not improbable that an adventurous prince of the Cola dynasty came to Āṅga at the end of the Pāla dynasty and established himself as king.³

The Mandār hill contains several caves as well. One of them, now known as the cave of the famous Sage Śukadeva lying a little above the Godavari Kuṇḍa to the left of the main footpath midway between the Śitā Kuṇḍa and the summit appears to have been inhabitable. The hill further possesses a large number of images and figures of gods and goddesses. Prominent among them are the images and figures of Viṣṇu, Narasimha, Vāmana, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, and certain Śiva Liṅgas. All around the middle of the hill, there is a groove which is said to be the impression of the coil of the snake Vāsukī, at the time of the churning of the sea of milk, when Viṣṇu bore its weight in the form of a tortoise.⁴ Moreover, a huge stonecarving of a human figure on a sloping rock to the north of the Śitā Kuṇḍa and midway between the Śaṅkha Kuṇḍa and the Ākāśa Gaṅgā close to the cave temple of god Narasimha, is worth noticing.

¹ *Var.*, quoted in *Kṛityakalpataru*, Pt. VIII., p. 217.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cf. Pandey, M.S.: *Geography and Topography of Ancient Bihar*, 1963, p. 51; See also Banerji, R.D., *Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India*, 1939, p. 277; *History of Bengal*, Vol. 1, ed. Majumdar, R.C., 1943, pp. 137-138; Sastri, K.A.N.: *The Colas*, 2nd ed., 1955, pp. 206-210.

⁴ *Kr.*, ch. I; *Ym.*, ch. 90.

Below the hill, there are ruins and remains of several old buildings, structure, images and tanks¹ which may suggest the existence of town or city in former days. According to local tradition, the city near Mandāra was called Bālīśānagara after Bālīśā, a Gandharva (demi-goddess) lady and it contained 88 tanks, 53 roads or lanes and 52 markets.² Tradition further asserts that this town had a large temple where one lac earthen lamps brought from every house burnt on the occasion of the Dīpāvali.³ Modern Baunsi, a village to the south of the hill, is supposed to be a remnant of the old city of Bālīśā.

Thus, the perusal of the above facts clearly shows that the Mandār Hill occupies a unique and most important place in the field of history, culture, architecture and religion, not only in ancient Anga, but also in the history of ancient India.

¹ For details see Chaudhury, A.K. : *Mandāra Paricaya*, Bhagalpur, 1956, p. 64 ff.

² Mishra, Sant Lal, *Mandāra-Madhusūdana Mahātmya*, Ch. 23-24., p. 181.

³ Sinha, Govind Prasad, *Mandāra-Madhusūdana Mahātmya*, 1914., A.D., Taranga, 5, v. 17.

DYNASTIC HISTORY OF ANGA

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

The genealogy of the lunar line of Anṅa is found in almost all the *Purāṇas*.¹ Their treatment of that genealogy can not, however, be said to be uniform and agreed in all cases and sometimes serious chronological confusions set in. At times it so happens that either more than one name occur in one and the same step or there are found many forms of one and the same name.² It is difficult, however, to explain the basic differences between the traditions of the various *Purāṇas*. Under these circumstances, we have accepted the testimony of majority of the *Purāṇas* which are supported and corroborated by other sources in the Brāhmanical literature. It is the only method left to us.

The genealogy of the king of Anṅa begins from Titikṣu.³ He was eighth in descent from Anu. Anu was one of the five sons of Yayāti born of Śarmishṭha. His descendants were the Ānvas.⁴ The seventh king after Anu was Mahāmanas. He had two sons,

¹ *Vā.*, 99, 109-110, 114; *Mt.*, 48, 99-100; *Ang.*, 277, 14; *Hv.*, 1, 31, 51-52; *Bṛa.*, 13, 45, 46; *Vs.*, IV, 18, 5; *Bh.*, IX, 23, 11.

² e.g., Brhadratha, the son and successor of Brhatkarman, is at some places called Brhadbhanu, (*Mt.* 48, 99-100) but at others Brhaddarbha (*Hv.*, 1, 31, 51-52). Brhanmanas, the son and successors of Brhadratha, is sometimes called Mahātmavant (*Mt.*, 48, 99-100) while at others Brhatmayant (*Agn.*, 277, 14). Besides, there are many examples which will follow in the course of setting the genealogy.

³ *Bd.*, III., 74, 24-103; *Va.*, 99, 24-119; *Bṛa.*, 13, 27, 49; *Hv.*, 31; *Mt.*, 48, 21-108; *Vs.*, IV, 18-1-71; *Agn.*, 276, 80-6; *Gār.*, 139, 68-74; *Bh.*, IX., 23, 4-14; *Mbh.*, XIII, 42.

⁴ Agrawala, V.S. : *Matsya Purāṇa—a Study*, (1963), p. 148.

Uśinara and Titikṣu. Under them the Ānvas divided into two great branches; Uśinara and his descendants occupied the Punjab, and Titikṣu founded a new kingdom in the east.¹ The Uśinara branch spread all over the Punjab comprising the kingdoms of Madraka (Sialkot), Kekaya (Shahpur-Jhelum), Sauvira (North Sind), Sindhū (Sindhū-Sagar Doab), Ambashṭha and Navarāshtra.²

The Titikṣu line in East Bihar, Bengal and Orissa³, had many sons and grandsons and it seems that they married amongst the Austric tribes giving birth to five Kṣetrāja sons viz. Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Pundra and Kalinga. These were the five eastern kingdoms which are thus mythically connected with five eponymous heroes of the lunar dynasty of Anu.⁴

The genealogical list of the kings down from Yāyāti up to Titikṣu runs as follows⁵ :

(1) Yāyāti (The fifth in descent from Maṇu⁶)

(2) Anu

(3) Sabhānāra

(4) Kolānala

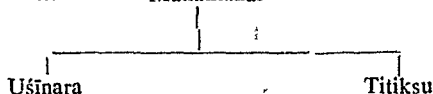
(5) Sṛññjaya

(6) Purañjaya

(7) Janamejaya⁷

(8) Mahāśāla

(9) ... Mahāmanas



Titikṣu, the son of Mahāmanas and younger brother of Uśinara, had a son named Uśadratha or Ruśadratha and third in des-

¹ Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.* p. 104.

² *Mt.*, 48, 18-21.

³ *Mt.*, 48, 22 (Pūrvasyam Dishī Vishvatah).

⁴ Agrawala, V. S. : *Matsya Purāna—a Study* (1963), p. 148.

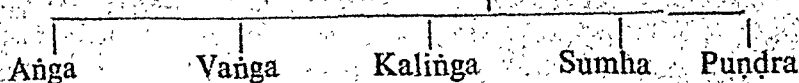
⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁶ Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.* p. 145 (Table of the royal genealogies).

⁷ We do not find the name of the king Janamejaya in the dynastic list of Pargiter. This name has been included by V.S. Agrawala on the basis of *Matsya Purāna*. We have followed the list of Agrawala.

The list of the kings down from Titikshu upto Anga runs as follows:

- ## Bali



We now propose to adjust the genealogy of the rulers of Aṅga from king Aṅga, the son of Bālī. Vaman Somnarayan Dalāl gives a list of the kings of Aṅga from king Aṅga upto Romapāda.⁵ According to him, Aṅga had a son named Para, and the fourth in descent from the latter was Romapāda, to whom Daśaratha, the son of Aja of Ayodhya gave his daughter, Santa in adoption. In the genealogical list of the rulers of Aṅga given by Dalāl⁶, we find the

⁶ *Ibid.*, Appendix (C), p. (c) 3, (The genealogical list of the rulers from Aṅga upto Romapāda).

name of the following kings in chronological order :

Aṅga
|
Pāra
|
Divirāṭha
|
Dharmaratha
|
Chitraratha
|
Romapāda

This list seems neither complete nor correct. King Dadhivāhana who was one of the prominent rulers of the dynasty does not find any mention in his list. Satyaratha, the successor of Chitraratha has also not been mentioned. We have also examined the dynastic list of the rulers given by Pargiter.¹ This list gives the following names² :

Aṅga
|
Dadhivahan
|
Diviratha
|
Dharmarātha
|
Chitrarātha
|
Satyarāṭha
|
Lomapāda or Romapāda

A comparison of the two lists would show that Dalal could not utilise the necessary *Purāṇic* texts to present a complete genealogical list, whereas Pargiter who composed his work later seems to have checked up the genealogical lists as given in the different *Purāṇas* while preparing his own list. Pargiter's list, therefore, seems more correct which we have accepted for our present study. Accordingly, the correct genealogical list, in our view is as

¹ Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 147.

² The genealogical list of the rulers from Aṅga upto Rōmapāda.

given below :

- (15) Aṅga
- |
- (16) Dadhivahan
- |
- (17) Diviratha
- |
- (18) Dharmarātha
- |
- (19) Chitrarātha
- |
- (20) Satyarātha
- |
- (21) Lomapāda or Rōmapāda

Now we shall try to adjust the dynasty that sprang from Romapāda, the friend and contemporary of Dāsārtha Aiksvaka. Romapāda's son was Caturanga, as is attested by all the *Purāṇas*¹. Caturanga's son is named variously in the *Purāṇas*. The *Vāyu* calls him Pṛthulaśva.² The *Matsya* calls him Pṛthulakṣa.³ The *Viṣṇu*, the *Bhāgavata*, *Harivaṃsa*, the *Brāhma*, the *Agni* agree with the *Matsya* in naming him Pṛthulakṣa.⁴ Accordingly it may be admitted that the reading in the *Vāyu* is corrupt and we adopt the name Pṛthulakṣa. Pṛthulakṣa's son was Campā, the father of Haryanga.⁵ Both Campā and Harayanga have been omitted in the *Bhāgavata*.

Rōmapāda
|
Caturanga
|
Pṛthulakṣa
|
Campā
|
Haryanga

After Haryanga the *Purāṇas* differ as to his lineal descen-

¹ *Vā.*, 99, 104; *Mt.*, 48, 95; *Mt.*, 1, 31, 47; *Brm.*, 13, 41; *Vs.*, IV, 18, 4; *Bh.*, IX, 23, 10; *Agn.*, 277, 13.

² *Vā.*, 99, 005.

³ *Mt.*, 48, 96.

⁴ *Vs.*, IV, 18, 4; *Agn.*, 277, 13; *Bh.*, IX, 23, 10; *Hv.*, 1, 31, 48; *Brm.*, 13, 42.

⁵ *Vā.*, 99, 105, 107; *Mt.*, 48, 96-98; *Vs.*, IV, 18, 4-5, and C.

We shall call him Brhanmanas as sactioned by the majority. Now the question arises who was the father of this Brhanmanas?

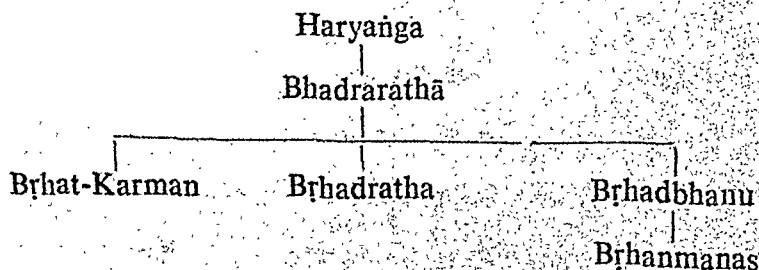
The *Vāyu* says at first that Brhanmanas was the son of Brhad-rathā but it revises its opinion by declaring that Brhanmanas was the son of Brhadbhanu.

The *Matsya* says that Mahātmavant (= Brhanmanas) was the son of Brhadbhanu, so that the *Matsya* supports the latter account of the *Vāyu*. The *Viṣṇu* supports the latter account of the *Vāyu*, by declaring that Brhanmanas was descended from Brhadbhanu.

The *Agni* supports the latter account of the *Vāyu* by stating that Brhatmavant was the son of Brhadbhanu. The *Brāhma* and the *Harivṃsa* call the father of Brhanmanas by the name Brhaddarbha. The *Bhāgavata*, however, supports the former account of the *Vāyu* by saying that Brhadratha, Brhat-Karman and Brhadbhanu were brothers and Brhanmanas was the son of Brhadarathā; but the *Bhāgavata* has omitted the names of Campā, Haryāṅga and Bhadrarathā. The *Viṣṇu* describes Brhat-Karman, Brhadbhanu and Brhanmanas as lineal descendants.

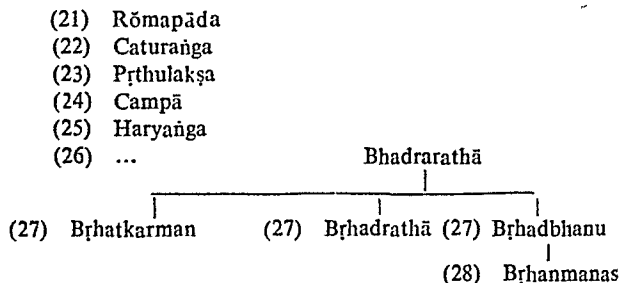
The *Viṣṇu* however, describes Bhadrarathā, Brhadrathā and Brhat-Karman as the sons of Haryāṅga; but here the *Viṣṇu* is opposed by the the *Vāyu*, the *Matsya*, the *Agni*, the *Harivṃsa* and the *Brāhma*, all of which state that Bhadrarathā was the father of Brhadrathā.

The correct genealogy of this portion of the dynasty which would satisfy most of the *Purāṇas* may be thus stated :



For our purpose the above table will do as it shows that Brhanmanas was a step below both Brhadrathā and Brhadbhanu, thus both the account of the *Vāyu* are reconciled.

The *Bhāgavata* also is satisfied because according to it Bṛhanmanas was the successor of Bṛhadrathā. The *Viṣṇu* is satisfied so far as it describes that Bṛhatkarman and Bṛhadrathā were brothers. Thus Rōmāpāda or Lomapāda stands twenty first king of the Aṅga dynasty. The correct genealogy from Rōmapāda to Bṛhanmanas may then stand thus :



After finishing with Bṛhanmanas the *Purānas* differ again as to the lineal descendants of Bṛhanmanas.

The difference amongst them is illustrated by the following tables :-

Vs. IV. 18.5-6	Bh. IX. 23 11-14	Agn. 277.15-16
Bṛhanmanas	Bṛhanmanas	Bṛhatmavant
Jaydrathā	Jayadrathā	Jayadrathā
Vijaya	Vijaya	Brhadratha
Dhṛti	Dhṛti	Viśvajit
Dhṛtavrata	Dhṛtavrata	xx
Satyakarman	Satkarman	xx
Adhirathā	Adhirathā	xx
Karna	Karṇa	Karṇa
xx	Vṛṣavēna	Vṛṣasēna
xx	xx	Pṛthusēna

Hv.I.31, 52-54

Brhanmanas

Jayadratha

Drdharatha

Viṣvajit-Janamejaya

xx

xx

xx

Karna

Vikarna

Mt. 48, 101-103

Brhadbhanu

Jayadratha

Brhadratha

Viṣvajit-Janamejaya

Āṅga

xx

Karna

Vṛsasena

Prthusena

Va. 99

Brhanmanas

Alt. List of the Hv.I.31, 54-58

Brhanmanas

Jayadratha

Vijaya

Dhṛti

Dhṛtavrata

Satyakara

Adhiratha

Karna

xx

Alt. list in Mt.48, 105-108

Brhanmanas

Jayadratha

Vijaya

Brhat

Brhadratha

Satyakarman

Adhiratha

Karna

xx

xx

Alt. list in Va.

Brhanmanas

Jayadratha Jayadratha

Vijaya

Dṛdharathā

Visvajit-Janamajaya

Aṅga

xx

Karṇa

Vṛsasena

Prṥthusena

Dhṛti

Dhṛtavrata

Satyakarman

Adhiratha

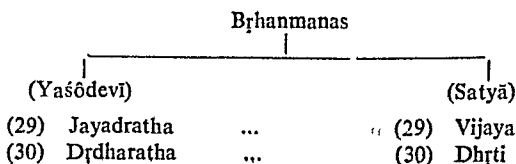
Karṇa

xx

xx

It is evident that Bṛhadbhanu in the first *Matsya* list is a scribe's error. The correct form is Bṛhanmanas as is stated in all the *Purāṇas*, as well as in the alternative list of *Matsya* itself. Again Bṛhat and Bṛhadratha of the alternative *Matsya* list stand for Dhṛti and Dhṛtavrata of the second lists of *Vāyu*, the *Harivaṁsa Brāhma*, as well as of the lists of the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata*. Then Bṛhadratha of the *Agni* and the first *Matsya* lists is the same as Dṛdharathā of the first lists in the *Vāyu*, the *Harivaṁsa* and the *Brāhma*. We shall call him Dṛdharatha according to the *Vāyu*. The *Vāyu*, the *Matsya*, the *Harivaṁsa* and the *Brāhma* relate in interesting detail how the dynasty branched off into two lines from Bṛhanmanas through his two wives Yaśōdevī and Satyā. According to these *Purāṇas* Yaśodevī's son was Jayadratha and Vijaya was the son of Satyā.

This detailed account is more to be credited and the other account of the *Viṣṇu* followed up by the *Bhāgavata* that Vijaya was the son of Jayadratha, should be rejected. The *Paurāṇika Sūta* being asked on that special point by the audience Ṛṣis, specifies the point at which the dynasty branched off into two lines. Accordingly the correct genealogy of this portion of the dynasty stands thus :-



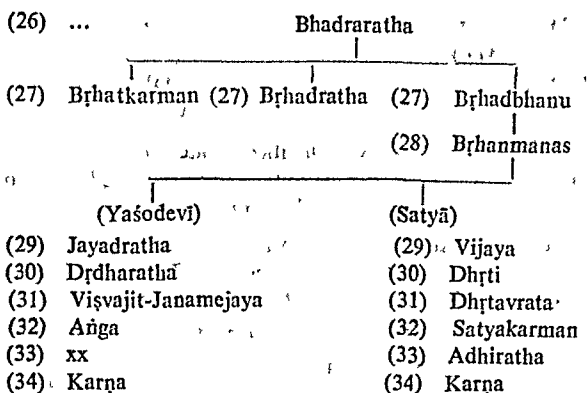
(31) Viṣvajit-Janamejaya...	(31) Dhṛtavrata
(32) xx Aṅga ...	(32) Satyakarman
(33) xx	(33) Adhiratha
(34) Karna ...	(34) Karna

The last i.e. Karna was the illegitimate son of Kunti and was brought up by Adhiratha, the Suta, and he inherited the property of Aṅga, the fourth in descent from Brhanmanas.

He was a famous hero and was killed in an unfair fight in the *Mahābhārata* war by Arjuna Pāṇḍava. Thus Karna naturally belongs to the 33 step below Rōmapāda (Daśaratha).

Accordingly, the gencalogy of the kings of Aṅga down from Yāyati up to Karna runs as follows :

- (1) Yāyati
- (2) Anu
- (3) Sabhānara
- (4) Kālānala
- (5) Sṛñjaya
- (6) Purañjaya
- (7) Janamejaya
- (8) Mahāśala
- (9) Mahāmanas
- (10) Titikṣu
- (11) Ruśadratha
- (12) Hema
- (13) Sutapās
- (14) Bālī
- (15) Aṅga
- (16) Dadhivāhana
- (17) Diviratha
- (18) Dharmaratha
- (19) Chitraratha
- (20) Satyaratha
- (21) Lomapāda or Romapād
- (22) Caturāṅga
- (23) Prthulakṣa
- (24) Campā
- (25) Harayāṅga



The *Purāṇas* trace the origin of the dynasty of Aṅga to Anu Yayāta, the fourth son of Yayāti.¹ He is regarded as one of the famous kings of the Lunar dynasties of India. One of the important princes of the line who may specially be mentioned is Titikṣu, the eighth in descent from Anu. Titikṣu², the younger son of Mahāmanas, founded a kingdom in the east, i.e. Aṅga in c. 2567 B.C.³ From *Mahābhārata* we know that Mandhātā, the king of Ayodhyā had conquered the kingdom of Aṅga.⁴ After a close study of the facts we have come to the conclusion that this conquest would have taken place prior to the succession of Titikṣu. Titikṣu had a son named Rusadratha or Usadratha. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Campā, the younger son of Rohita, the ruler of Ayodhyā built Campāpuri⁵ in the east of modern Bihar which later became the capital of Aṅga. According to Pargiter king Hema of Aṅga was contemporary of king Rohita of Ayodhyā.⁶ The construction of the city of Campāpuri by Campā, son of Rohita, goes to suggest that the kingdom of Aṅga was either conquered by

¹ *Bd.*, III, 60, 2-3; *Vayu.*, 85, 3-4; *Agn.*, 272, 5-7; *Vs.* IV, 1, 7; *Mbh.*, 1, 75, 15-16; *Bh.*, IX, 1, 11-12; *Mt.*, 11, 40-1; etc.

² *Bd.*, III, 74, 24-103; *Vā.* 99, 24-119; *Br.* 13, 27-49; *Hv.* 31; *Mt.* 48; etc.

³ *J.B.R.S.*, (1951), p. 109.

⁴ *Mbh.*, XIII, 29, 88.

⁵ Pusalkar, A.D., *H.C.I.P.*, "The Vedic age", p. 286.

⁶ Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 147.

Rohita or his son Campā.

The third in descent from Ruśadratha was Bāli. King Bāli was a great ascetic and had a golden quiver. He was believed to be Bāli Vairocana of the early Vedic age, reborn; and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which like the *Purāṇas* could not rise above the belief in an after-birth, calls Aṅga, the descendent of Virocana. Bāli was a contemporary of Avikshita and Marutta, the rulers of Vaiśālī and their priest, Samvarta. Subhadra, the daughter of king Bāli of Aṅga, was married to king Avikshita, the father of Marutta of Vaiśālī. According to S. C. Sarkar, it was done with purpose of strengthen association with the Āṅgīrasa priests, who all along controlled the career of Karandhama's line (the father of Avikshita), for six generations after him and who also controlled Bāli's big kingdom in the east.³ The kingdom of Magadha was also included in the empire of king Bāli of Aṅga.³ Marutta, the king of Vaiśālī married seven wives and one of the princesses whom he married was daughter of Ketuvīrya Magadha. The kingdom of Magadha with Girivraja was an integral part of the kingdom of Ketuvīrya. S. C. Sarkar and Y. Mishra have regarded him as king of Aṅga.⁴ By looking to the genealogical chart of the kings of Aṅga, we have come to the conclusion that there was no king of Aṅga named Ketuvīrya.

King Bāli has been repeatedly mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. The *Purāṇas* state that Dṛghatamas Māmateya begot five Kṣetrajā sons from the wife of Bāli named Sudesna.⁵ They were Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Sumha and Puṇḍra. These sons established principalities after their names. Bāli established the four castes and his sons followed the tradition. Duṣyanta, the husband of Śakuntalā was his contemporay.⁶ Dṛghatamas in his old age consecrated Bhārata⁷, the son of Duṣyanta. Samvarta, the cousin of Dṛghatamas officiated as the high priest of Marutta, the king of

¹ Sarkar, S.C. : *Homage to Vaiśālī*, p. 48.

² *Ibid.*, p. 50; cf. Mishra, Y., *An early history of Vaiśālī*.

³ *Mar.*, Ch. 131.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Mishra, Y., p. 45.

⁵ *Bh.*, IX, 23, 5; *Mbh.*, I, 104.

⁶ Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 163.

⁷ *Alt.*, Br. VIII, 23.

Vaiśālī. Dṛghatamas is a Vedic Ṛsi and an author of *Rgveda* I. 140—64. The story of Dṛghatamas runs as follows:-

The Vedic Ṛsi Ucāthya¹ had a wife Mamta. They had a son named Dṛghatamas who was born blind. It is proved by the *Rgveda*² also that Dṛghatamas the son of Ucāthya and Mamta was blind. He lived in his paternal cousin's hermitage, whom the *Purāṇas* apparently call Saradvant, but indulged in gross immorality or misbehaved towards the wife of the younger Autathya³. Hence he was expelled and set adrift in the gangā. He was carried down the stream to the Eastern Anava kingdom and was welcomed by king Bāli of Aṅga.

This incident finds support in the *Rgveda* (I 158,3,5) where he speaks of having been delivered from bodily hurt and from danger in the rivers. He married the queen's (Bāli's wife) Śudra nurse and had Kaksivanta, and other sons⁴ and at Bāli's desire begot of the queen Sudesna five sons i.e, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Pundra and Suhma, who were called Ballya Ksatra and also Ballya Brāhmanas. This is strange yet not improbable, for Brāhmanas did render such services. Afterwards he gained his sight and assumed the name Gotam or Gautama⁵.

The Ksetraja sons of King Bāli of Aṅga have a better story to tell. They occupied five different territories of Eastern India after their names. King Aṅga had a son named Dadhivāhana. The *Dadhivāhana Jātaka*⁶ presents before us, though in a curious garb, a king named Dadhivāhana as occupying the throne of Benaras. This Dadhivāhana may be identified with the king of Anga who has been known to the *Purāṇas* and to the Jaina literature.⁷ He seems to be a prominent ruler of the dynasty. It was during his period that the Nāgās, occupying the river settlements on the Campā be-

¹ He was an Angirasa; *Mbh.* XII, 90, 3362, XIII, 154, 7240.

² *Rv.*, I, 147, 31, 152—6; *Hymns.* I, 140—64 are ascribed to him. Also see *Bṛhadd* III, 146.

³ *Va.* 99, 26—34, 47—97; *Bd.* III, 74, 25, 34, 47, 100, *Mt.* 48, 23—9, 43, 89; *Hv.* 31, 1684—90, *Vs.* IV, 18, 1; *Bh.* IX, 23, 5; *Mbh.* 104, 4193, 221 etc.

⁴ *Mbh.*, II, 20, 802.

⁵ *Va.*, 99, 92; *Bd.* III, 74, 94; *Mt.*, 48, 83-4, *Bṛhadd* IV, 115.

⁶ *Ja*, II, pp. 101. ff.

⁷ Roy Choudhary, H C, *P.H.A.I.*, p. 77.

came active in political conflicts raging around them.

Dadhivāhana had a grand son Diviratha and the latter was succeeded by Dharmaratha. We do not know the name of the son of Dadhivāhana. It is said that when Rāma Jamadagnya, after being exhorted in an assembly of Brāhmaṇas by Parāvasu, the son Raibhya and grand son of Viśvamitra, began to kill the Kṣatriyas a second time, Vatsa the son of Praṭardana Daivodāsi and Sāmva-bhauma or Rkṣa, the son of the Paurava king Viduratha and Dadhivāhana's grand son i.e. Diviratha's son of the Dynasty of Anga Vāley, were saved from death.¹

The successor of king Dharmaratha was Citraratha. He is also called Romapāda in the *Viṣṇu*² whereas according to the *Agni Purāṇa*, Lomapāda or Romapāda was his grand son. Satyaratha was son and successor of Citraratha. King Romapāda, a contemporary of king Dasaratha of Ayodhya, was one of the most prominent rulers of the dynasty of Anga kings. He is also known as Dasaratha and Lomapāda³ (hairy foot). He averted the calamity of a dreadful-drought and consequent famine by performing a sacrifice, presided over by Rṣi Śṛṅga.⁴ His other contemporaries were Pramati of Vaiśālī and Aśvapati of Kekeya.⁵ Besides, the Aikṣvaka king Daśaratha the father of Rām, the northern Pāṇcāla king Atithigva Divōdāsa, the brother of Ahalyā, Senajit the southern Pāṇcāla king Sārvo-bhauma and Rkṣa II, the son of Viduratha of Hastinapura line, Kṛta, the father of Uparicara whose descendent Brhadratha I founded the kingdom of Magadha, Romapāda (Daśaratha) of the dynasty of Anga, Śiradhvaja Janaka, the father of Sitā, king Satvant of the Yadu dynasty, and the father of Vitahavya the Haihaya—all these ten kings belonged to the same age.⁶

Lomapāda, the Paurāṇic king of Anga, is mentioned in a Gāthā of the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*⁷ which says of him as follows:-

¹ *Mbh.*, XII, 49.

² Gyani, S.D. : *Agni Purāṇa—a Study*, p. 200.

³ *Mt.*, 48, 95.

⁴ *Rām.*, 9.

⁵ *Rām.*, II, 12.

⁶ Pradhan, S.N. : *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 30.

⁷ *Jā.*, VI, p. 203, G. 877; also see Mēhta, R.L. : *Pre-Buddhist India* (1939), p. 15.

“Yassānubhāvena Subhoga Gaṅgā
 Pavattatha dadhisaññaṃ Samuddaṇṇi
 Sa Loampādo Paricariya-m-aggim
 Aṅgo Sahassakkhapurajjhagañchi”

By whose power the Gaṅgā swelled to the curd-like ocean, he, Lomapāda, the Aṅga, giving offerings to the fire went to the world of Sahasrākṣa, i.e. Indra.

Lomapāda is a familiar personage in the *Epics*¹ and the *Purāṇas*, all of which agree that he was the king of Anga. As to his being a contemporary of king Daśaratha of Ayodhya, the *Rāmāyana* is quite clear while the *Purāṇas* at least suggest it. It is this testimony that leads us to place Lomapada side by side with Rāma. The connection of Lomapāda with Ṛṣya Śṛṅga, the sage, is not brought out in the *Jātakas*, though they knew the sage quite intimately as is clear from the *Alambusā*, and *Nalinikā Jātakas*.

In the *Mahābhārata* we find that Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa who had his hermitage on the bank of the river Kauśiki (= the modern Kośi in the district of Purnea) had his son named Ṛṣyasṛṅga by a Mṛgi² (evidently a non-Aryan maid).

Lomapāda-Daśaratha of the dynasty of Aṅga Valeya employed Ṛṣyasṛṅga Vaibhāṇḍaki to officiate in a sacrifice instituted by him (i.e. Lomapāda) to remove drought. The same incident is evidenced by the *Rāmāyana*.³ Lomapāda gave his adopted daughter Sāntā in marriage to Ṛṣyasṛṅga.⁴ It was by virtue of Ṛṣya-Śṛṅga's officiating in a Putreṣṭi sacrifices that Lomapāda got his son Caturaṅga.⁵

King Romapāda had friendly relations with the contemporary kings. We are told by Vālmiki that when king Daśaratha performed Aśvamedha sacrifice for the fulfilment of his desire to have sons, the neighbouring and friendly kings were invited to it.⁶

¹ *Rām.*, I, 9—11; *Mbh.*, III, 110—113.

² *Mbh.*, III, 111.

³ *Rām.*, I, 9-10.

⁴ *Mbh.*, III, 114, 11.

⁵ *Vā.*, 99, 104; *Mt.*, 48, 95, 96; *Hv.*, I, 31, 47.

⁶ *Rām.*, I, 13, 21—27.

They included Janaka of Mithilā (Videha) the friendly king of Kaśī, the father-in-law of Daśaratha, who was the king of Kekaya as well as his son Aśvapati, the king of Aṅga named Romapāda who was of the age of Daśaratha himself and various other friendly rulers. The king of Vaiśālī was not invited.¹ This goes to suggest that Aṅga was a powerful kingdom during those days under the kingship of Romapāda and it sought friendly relations with contemporary kingdoms. The *Lomakassapa Jātaka* agrees² substantially with the epic story of Romapāda, king of Aṅga. The point of discrepancy is that in the *Jātaka* version Lomakassapa, the great ascetic, over-came his passion while his sacrifice was in progress and went away without marrying Candavati daughter of a Brahmadatta of Benaras. Palakapya Muni the author of a treatise on elephants flourished at the time of Romapāda³, king of Campā and he has been referred to as a "sutrakara".⁴

Romapāda was succeeded by his son Caturāṅga and the latter was succeeded by Pṛthulākṣa. The epics and the *Purāṇas* fail to supply us sufficient facts regarding them. Campā, probably son and successor of Pṛthulākṣa was an important king of the dynasty. He founded the city of Campā and became very popular among his subjects.⁵

The great-grandson of Campā was Brhanmanas. He had two wives namely Yaśodevi and Sātyā.⁶ The *Purāṇas* inform us that Brhanmanas had many sons and grand sons. Jayadratha was the most prominent king after him. He was son and successor of Brhanmanas, and Yaśodevi was his mother. He married a woman of the inferior caste and his descendants, therefore, became known

¹ *Rām.*, I, 13, 20—29; cf., Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 276; *J.A.S.B.* (1897), pp. 96—93.

² *J.D.L.*, 1930.

"*Studies in Jātakas*"

³ *Nakula's Aśvacikitsitam*, ch. 2; *J.A.S.B.* 1914.

⁴ *Raghuvamśa* (Mallinātha's comment), v. 26.
cf. *J.B.R.S.*, (1951), p. 109.

⁵ *J.B.R.S.* (1951) p. 107; cf. Dutt, V.S. : *History of India* (1914), p. 200.

⁶ Pradhan, S.N. : *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 110-111.

as *sūta putras* after him.¹ This also led the Paurānikas to call the dynasty that of a *Sūta*.²

The most famous king of the dynasty of Aṅga was Karna. King Adhiratha found Karṇa in a basket on the bank of the Gaṅgā, where he had been exposed by his mother Pṛthā. He was a son of Kunti and the brother of the Pāṇḍavas, though he was born when Kunti was unmarried. He was, therefore cast away and brought up by Adhiratha and his wife Rādhā and was known as their son till Kunti on the eve of the *Mahābhārata* war disclosed his true parentage. He was a great warrior, a magnanimous king and the most trusted advisor of king Duryodhana.³

Since Karna was not a king of the Kṣatriya aristocracy, being a *Suta* of Aṅga by adoption, Arjuna refused to fight with him. Duryodhana acknowledged him as the king of Aṅga,⁴ although the Pāṇḍavas were unwilling to recognise it. Bhimasena banned him as low-born (*suta putra*) and declared him as no match for his brother Arjuna with the result that Karṇa became an inveterate enemy of the Pāṇḍavas.⁵ The story runs thus⁶ :

After the period of their study being over and the princes having acquired knowledge suitable to their high position Drona reported the matter to Dhṛtarāṣṭra and suggested that a tournament may be held to test the knowledge the young princes had acquired. The contest began and it was now Arjuna's turn to show his prowess and a roar of admiration arose as he entered the arena clad in golden armour and armed with his powerful bow— young, handsome and energetic. For a time, Duryodhana felt humiliated, as there was none among his brothers who could have ventured to try his skill with him but fortunately for him, Karṇa at this time entered the place and proudly challenged Arjuna to fight. Arjuna was of course quite prepared to accept it, but Kṛpacārya knowing that a deadly conflict would once more issue, told Karṇa

¹ J.B.R.S. (1951), p. 109; also see Dalal, V.S. : p. 200.

² *Manu*, X, II.

³ Dalal, V.S. : p. 200.

⁴ *Mbh.*, (Vāṅgavāsi, ed.), p. 140.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 25, pp. 140-41.

⁶ Dalal, V.S. : *History of India*, pp. 205-206 & 207.

that before the challenge could be accepted, he must let them know his lineage, as according to the rules of such a kind of warfare, a Kṣatriya may only fight with his equal. Karna stood abashed but Duryodhana retorted saying that according to the Śāstras, a king is either one who is born in a noble dynasty or who is brave or who is the leader of an army. However, if Arjuna was not inclined to fight with him on this technical ground, he added, he would crown Karna on the spot and thus remove the bar which stood in his way. He then proceeded to put his words into execution and made him king of Āṅga.

On his own part, Karna thanked his benefactor for the honour done to him and vowed eternal friendship with him.¹

We know from the *Mahābhārata* that at the Svaymvara ceremony of Draupadi, daughter of king Drupada of the Pāṇcala-country, Karna was present with other Kṣatriya princes, such as Salya of Madra and Duryodhana of Hastinapura. It was here that Arjuna won the hand of Draupadi by a wonderful feat of archery. Bhima and Arjuna were then disguised as Brāhmanas. A quarrel ensued over the acquisition of Draupadi and a duel took place between Arjuna and Karna with the result that the latter was defeated.² Arjuna on his way to Manipura visited Āṅga as a pilgrim and distributed riches there.³ Bhimasena fought with Karna, king of Āṅga and convinced him of his prowess prior to the Rajasuya sacrifice of Yudhisthira. He killed the king of Modāgiri (Monghyr⁴). Karna is said to have attended the Rajasuya sacrifice of Yudhisthira at Indraprastha.⁵ On the eve of the Paundarika sacrifice of Duryodhana, the Āṅga country is referred to in connection with the digvijaya of Karna.⁶

Arjuna went to the Āṅga country in quest of the sacrificial horse. The kings of Āṅga, Kaśi and Kośala and Kiratas and

¹ Dalal, V.S. : *History of India*, p. 205.

² *Mbh.*, (Vangavasi ed.), I, 4, 178-179.

³ *Ibid.*, 9, 195; 195, 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 2, p. 242.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 7, 245.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-9, 513.

Tanganas were compelled to pay him homage.¹ According to the *Mahābhārata* king Jarāsandh is also said to have extended his supremacy over the Aṅgas, Vāṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Pundras.²

The Aṅgas were also defeated in a battle by Vasudeva as we learn from the Dronaparva of the *Mahābhārata*. In the Santiparva of the *Mahābhārata*, we find Vasupama, king of Aṅga visited a golden mountain called Yunjavat on the ridge of the Himalayas.

Kaṇ was killed in the Bhārata battle and was succeeded by his son Vṛsasena, who was followed by Pṛthusena. We have no connected account of the kings of Aṅga after the great Bhārata war.

Śrī Harṣa mentions a king of Aṅga named Dṛdhavarman who was restored to his kingdom by Udayana, king of Kauśāmbi.³ According to the *Harivaṃsa* and other the *Purāṇas*, Dadhivahana of Campā is said to have fought with Satanika of Kauśāmbi.⁴ But according to B.C. Law, this Dadhivahana could not have been the same king Dadhivahana who is represented by the Jainas as a contemporary of Māhāvīra and a weak rival of king Satanika of Kauśāmbi.⁵

Brahmadatta, king of Aṅga, defeated Bhattiya—Kṣātraujas or Kṣemavit of the *Puranas*—king of Magadha.⁶ But when his son Seniya (Bimbisāra) then a prince, grew up, he invaded Aṅga, killed Brahmadatta, and took his capital Campā with the help of a Nāga King.⁷ Bimbisāra was the king of Aṅga—Magadha when the Buddha renounced the world and Mahāvīra became a Jina. During the reign of his father Bimbisāra ruled Aṅga as Viceroy. Bimbisāra granted some lands in Campā as a royal fief to a Brahmana named Sonadanda.⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, 4-5, p. 2093.

² *Ibid.*, XII, ch. 6607.

³ *Priyadarsika*, Act. IV.

⁴ Wilson's *Viṣṇu*, p. IV, 24.

⁵ *J.A.S.B.*, 1914, 320 ff.

⁶ *De*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1914, p. 321.

⁷ *Vidhurapandita Jā.*

⁸ *Mahavagga*, I, 19; V.I.

Kunika Ajātaśatru, the son of Bimbisāra is represented throughout Jaina literature as a king of Aṅga who reigned in Campā. But the fact is that he was only the Uparaja or Viceroy of Aṅga which formed part of the kingdom of Magadha. While Viceroy of Aṅga, Kunika-Ajātaśatru picked up a quarrel with the Vṛji-Licchavis of Vaiśālī over the possession of a mineral mine on the boundary of the two territories.¹

"The annexation of Aṅga was the turning point in the history of Magadha as," V.A. Smith says, "it marked the first step taken by the kingdom of Magadha in its advance to greatness and the position of supremacy which it attained in the following century, so that Bimbisāra may be regarded as the real founder of the Magadhan imperial power".²

Bimbisāra made over the charge of government to his son Ajātaśatru when the latter was about to stab him with a dagger but was seized upon by the officers. Ajātaśatru, however, starved him to death, and afterwards expressed repentance to the Buddha for his sin.³ Darśaka, Silavant, Vimala etc. went away as Buddhist monks for fear of Ajātaśatru. Ajātaśatru was, according to Hemacandra, overpowered with sorrow at the death of his father, and transferred his capital from Rājagṛha to Campā.⁴

Ajātaśatru was, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, murdered by his son Udayibhadra, but the *Sthaviravali-Carita* informs us that Udayin was overpowered with sorrow at the death of his father Ajātaśatru, and transferred his capital from Campā to Pāṭali-putra.⁵

It is very difficult to reconcile the above conflicting statements in the present state of our knowledge. The only source of our information for the reconstruction of the political history of Aṅga is

¹ Law, B.C., *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 204; cf. *Sumaṅgalavilāsiṇi*, Pt. I, p. 134.

² See Law, B.C. : *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 201.

³ *Kalpasūtra* (Book VI).

⁴ *Jā.*, V, 261-2; *Dighā.*, 1—85; *Dialogues of the Buddha* 1890, p. 94; *S.B.E.* 11, 94; Rock hill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 95.

⁵ *Sthaviravali-Carita.*, VI, 22—188.

literature, which is not always reliable because of its hyperbolic character and conflicting nature. In the historical period, however, the picture becomes somewhat clear as evidences gleaned from literary sources are supplemented to a great extent by the archaeological finds made from time to time. Like other regions of India such as Mithila, Vaiśālī, etc. the history of early Anga will also remain shrouded more or less in obscurity and a full and comprehensive history is possible only when the various historical sites lying scattered over the vast area are thoroughly exposed by the archaeologist spade.

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PRINCIPLES OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT ANGA

Anga during the period under review was a monarchical states ruled by a dynasty of princes originally descended from Anu. Before we discuss the main points, it is better to analyse the growth and necessity of monarchy in ancient India for it will give us some idea about the principles of state in Ancient Anga. It is argued sometimes that monarchy developed in ancient India because the Indo-Aryan family was patriarchal.¹ Zimmer upheld that the social organisation of the Indo-Aryans was patriarchal. Macdonnel and Keith deny such a view.² Even if it could be proved that the Vedic family system was patriarchal, it is not possible to make a case for a casual connection between patriarchal family organisation and a monarchical polity. Even to assert an invariable correlation between the two is doubtful. Some of the Vedic hymns contain prayers for kingship. Some passages in these hymns are cited to show the historical authenticity of the view that at certain periods in their history the Indo-Aryan clans and tribes lived under the rule of patriarchs. But it is possible to detect in these hymns the fact that the authority of the Vedic king was already established and hence we do not have reference to pre-monarchical patriarchal society under the rule of the Pitara—ancient pristine father or Prajapatis-patriarchs.³

¹ Sinha, H.N. : *Sovereignty in Ancient Indian Polity*, London, 1938.

² Macdonnel, A.A. & Keith, A.B. : *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, II. 216.

³ Bandyopadhyaya, N.C. : *Development of Hindu Polity & Political Theories*, Calcutta, 1927, p. 85.

The Vedic society was full of political turmoils and these helped in the consolidation of kingship, and its transformation into a coercive and dominating institution with emphasis on power—*kshatra kshatraśrī*. The Indo-Aryans had not only to fight the powerful Dasyus who had great force, but they were also engaged in inter-tribal warfare.¹ To meet the exigencies of the times, great personal authority had to be conferred upon the king for the preservation of social cohesion and discipline necessary for success. We feel that these constant wars only accelerated the process of the extension of the kingly power, but were not the cause of the genesis of the institution of kingship itself. Kingship arose in Vedic times as a part of the process of integration of the families, tribes, clans and villages into the *Rashtra*—territorial unit², and it seems to be quite pertinent and convincing.

From a study of the various sources it is obvious that the king was looked upon as the very symbol of government; for a territory, where there is no king, becomes an anarchy and disorder sets in. This fact is corroborated by Vālmīki in his *Rāmāyana* where he says "In a state without a king, not even the clouds give rain, nor is handful of grain grown, sons do not obey their parents nor wives their husbands. There is no respect for youth. Young girls bedecked with ornaments cannot go to play in gardens outside the town in the evening, nor can people sleep with open doors or go to jungles in fast-moving vehicles with their sweet-hearts like a river without water, or a jungle without grass, or huddlesmen without cows is a state without a king. As is the sight essential to the body, so is a king necessary to the state for the propagation of truth and religion.³ Further he says, "As the chariot is heralded by its banner and fire is known by smoke, so is a king the banner (symbol) of his state and in a kingless state none can own any property and the people devour each other like fish".⁴ The saying of Vālmīki is supported by *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, where it is said, "From the flag is heralded the coming

¹ *Rv.*, VII, 18.

² Engles. F.: *The Origin of the Family. Private Property and the State*, New York, 1942, pp. 51-52.

³ *V. Ram.*, II, 67, Vss, 9. 10—11, 17—19, 21, and 33.

⁴ *V. Rām.*, II, 67. 30.

of a chariot and fire is presumed to be existent by the sign of smoke. The king is the symbol of a state".¹ Even in the days of the Buddha, the symbol of kingship was deemed necessary for a state. Thus, it is evident that the king was regarded the symbol of authority vested in a government and it was most essential for proper and just administration.

In spite of the fact that monarchical government in ancient India was absolute in theory, it was limited in practice. Indian literature pertaining to Aṅga is replete with such references, where the rulers are described to show paternal love and care for their subjects.² It was due to this sense of loving care and benevolent attitude, which moved the kings of Aṅga to be ever mindful of the interests of their subjects. This can be very well compared to the spirit of government as it is enunciated in the *Mahābhārata*,³ where it is said that the king should behave towards his subjects as a mother towards her offspring, disregarding all comforts and making all sacrifices in the interest of the latter.

We do not find a sense of royal supremacy in any literary or historical work pertaining to our enquiry. It is true, a father is the master of his sons and he can treat them as he likes, but he is always motivated by the sense that good be done by him. Likewise no autocratic or despotic rule was possible in those days, when social and religious bond had authority over the princes and peasants alike. The limitations round the ancient monarchy of the Hindus were more or less socio-religious or socio-legal as compared to the constitutional and legal system of the modern days. The social system of the Hindus, especially the Varna and Āśrama systems, had such a hold that even the most powerful kings could not throw away their clutches. None was free to transgress the limits of his own Varna and it was the duty of king to see that nobody really ventured to do so.⁴ Any kind of neglect in this respect resulted in the misfortune of the subjects. The penance of the Śūdra Rṣi Śambūka had its beneficial consequence in the death of an only and minor son of a poor Brāhmaṇa.⁵ Rāma

¹ S.N. (Hindi) ed. Vol. I, p. 48.

² V. Rām., II, 24; also cf. *Raghuvaṃśa*, I, 24.

³ *Śāntiparva*, LVI, 44; also cf. Prasad, Beni, *Theory of govt.* p. 40.

⁴ Prasad, Beni : *The State in Ancient India*, p. 73.

⁵ V. Rām., VII, 74, 29.

heard the wailing Brāhmaṇa in his court, accepted his charge, and started to find out the cause of the premature demise of his minor son. The death of the poor child, it was deemed, was the outcome of the sin of Rāma,¹ the king. He found the Śūdra Ṛṣi Śambūka engaged in penance, punished him for his transgression of limit, and the Brāhmaṇa's son stood up alive. These instances clearly indicate that Varna-theory had an upper hand and influence on the then Hindu society.

It appears from the available references that the ascetics had a right to advise and even to admonish a king, when the latter deviates from the correct path of administration. According to a *Jātaka* "A king ought to be vigilant in all kingly duties to his subjects like mother or father, forsaking all evil courses, never omitting the virtues of a king. When a king is righteous, those who surround are righteous also".² However, it cannot be claimed that the king was bound by the advice of his ministers. In certain cases he is not only advised to ignore those ministers, who forsake the state-interests and go under the impell of their own selfish motives, but also to remove them from their offices.³ But this was a principle to be followed only in exceptional times. Ordinarily, the Kautilyan principle, viz. "Sovereignty is possible only with assistance, a single wheel can never move; hence he shall employ ministers and listen to their opinions"⁴ held good. This view of Kautilya is further corroborated by the *Mahābhārata*, where it is said that "a king without a minister cannot govern his kingdom even for three days".⁵ These instances clearly indicate that the kings in ancient India so also in Aṅga during the period under review, could not act in entire opposition to the wishes of his people, who often expressed themselves strongly in favour of or against his conduct. These were customary checks on royal absolutism.

Moreover, ancient Indian kings were always mindful of the good or bad effects of a virtuous or sinful conduct and the resul-

¹ *V. Rām.*, VII, 73, 10.

² *Jarasaṇḍha-Jā*, vol. IV, p. 109; also cf. *Mbh.*, XII, ch. 85.

³ *V. Rām.*, VI, 63, 14, 18.

⁴ *Arth.*, I, 7, 15.

⁵ *Mbh.*, *Śāntiparva*, ch. VI, 11.

tant heaven or hell¹, which might be in store for them on account of their obeying or disobeying Dharma, i.e., the established law of society. These considerations had their cumulative effects on the attitude of kings and consequently monarchy became circumscribed in its authority.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Aṅga kings, as heads of the state, styled themselves as 'Sārvabhauma'. Their ideals were very high. The *Rāmāyaṇa* puts them in very apt terms when it says, "only that king is able to acquire fame in the world who is accompanied by righteous people, is full of kindness and has got control over his senses, is grateful for the good done to him, and is truthful".² The Buddhist canon too acclaim righteousness as the greatest requirement of a monarchy. If the kings are unrighteous and unjust, "honey, molasses, and the like as well as wild roots and fruits lose their sweetness and flavour and not only these but the whole realm becomes bad and flavourless".³ Buddha himself told that "whenever kings are unrighteous, then also are his officers unrighteous".⁴ These qualities were almost present in the kings of Aṅga. That is why the rulers of Aṅga were always actuated by a high sense of respect for public opinion in their behaviour towards their subjects. It was the constant effort of the Aṅga kings to always retain the public trust.

The king was the supreme guide, friend and philosopher of his empire. He was responsible for all the affairs of the state in every Department. He was the "chief executive officer, the chief judge, and the chief military commander".⁵

The king as a supreme executive officer of the state not only proclaimed orders and issued writs⁶ to his subordinate officers, but sometimes himself took upon himself the responsibility of execu-

¹ V. Rām., IV, 34, 7.

² Ibid.

³ Rajovada-Jā., No. 354, Vol. III, p. 111.

⁴ Intro, to *Tachia Sukara-Jā.*, Vol. V, p. 59.

⁵ Prasad, Beni : *The State in Ancient India*, p. 110.

⁶ Mehta, R.L. : *Pre-Buddhist India*, 1939, p. 129.

tive function. Since he was the protector of his people, it was his duty to free them from internal insecurity and internal dangers. The *Nanacchanda-Jātaka*¹ speaks of king's tours in disguise, usually at nights, to find out the real conditions of the people and to know public opinion about their administration. Such tours proved to be of great value in formulating executive policies of administration. The vigilance on the part of the king is emphasized so much that he has been described "as the very eye of his kingdom. He is the very embodiment of truth and Dharma. He is the father and mother of his subjects, and the family of the family-holders, and one who provides happiness and prosperity to his people".²

The king was the head of the judicial department of his state and he performed duties of the chief judge. There are various references to support this contention.³ The king presented himself in the judgment hall, called the 'Aṭṭhakaraṇa', for hearing cases and awarding punishments.⁴ The army commander of Titikṣu, king of Aṅga, is said to have retried some cases, which were unjustly disposed of by the regular judges,⁵ and for which he was loudly applauded by the people. The result was the removal of those judges. Moreover, the responsibility of the king in deciding the cases must have been very great and his proper evaluation of the facts of the case and the evidence, his own sense of justice and equity, or his whims, caprices, and prejudices could seriously make or mar his judgement.

The king as a supreme head of the military department had to bear heavy military responsibilities for its maintenance in times of peace and leadership in theaters of war. The king was expected to protect his people and the kingdom from external aggression, and it was also expected of him to launch upon new conquests. The kings of Aṅga, great conquerors as they were, directed their campaigns in person and thus provided the leadership to the army.

Succession to the throne in the Aṅga kingdom was based on

¹ Vol. II, pp. 427 ff.

² *V. Rām.*, II, 67, 33-34.

³ *Ibid.*, VII, 74, 1-6; *Intro to Bandhanagara Jā*, No. 201, Vol. II, p. 139.

⁴ *S.N.*, I, p. 71; *Majjhima*, p. 79.

⁵ *V. Rām.*, II, 3, 9-40.

the theory of primogeniture and was accepted in hereditary manner, i.e., kingship was hereditary.¹ It is said that kings of Āṅga practised Yoga in their old age and often they handed over the charge of their sovereignty to their successors when they began to decline in age. The very often and invariable use of the words like 'tasmāt' in the *Purāṇas*,² while denoting the order of succession, goes to prove the lineal connections of the new incumbents of the throne to its old masters. The history of Āṅga does not present us any case of election to the throne. It was the law of primogeniture which governed the succession.

The eldest prince was appointed as the crown-prince and was kept under actual apprenticeship by the ruling sovereign. He was given practical lessons in the art of administration before his actual accession to the throne and coronation as a sovereign. The consecration of the crown-prince was a grand royal affair, in which almost all the sections of the population took keen interest and for which their tacit agreement was obtained.

A more important ritual was the Aindra Mahābhiseka³ with which king Āṅga Vairochana is said to have been consecrated. This consisted of five important ceremonies. In the first place, an oath was administered by the priest to the king-designate.⁴ Next followed the Arohana or enthronement. When the king was seated on the throne, we have the utkrośana⁵ or proclamation. After that there was an address with the formula, *abhimantraṇā*.⁶ Then came the final anointment (*abhisechana*).

THE MINISTRY

A council of ministers as an advisory body was always present in all the ancient Indian kingdoms and Āṅga was no exception. The ministers were undoubtedly an important part of the administrative machinery. The idea is admirably put in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*⁷ where a minister Viśvavedin says to Śauri—"thou art the worker, we are the instrument". The importance of ministers is

¹ *Mr.*, 117, 29—31.

² *Alt., Br.*, VIII, 12—23.

³ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶ See *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 168-169.

⁷ 117, 37.

further laid down in the *Mahābhārata* like 'the king is dependent upon the ministers in the same way as the Brāhmaṇas are dependent upon the *Vedas*, women upon their husbands and animals upon clouds'.¹

The ministers have been variously designated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, viz. Amātya,² Saciva,³ and Mantrin.⁴ Its number in the kingdom of Aṅga does not seem to have been fixed for all times and it may be presumed that it could be changed in the light of circumstances and according to needs. In the *Jātaka* period the number of the ministers was ordinarily five.⁵ Vālmiki enjoins that this number should be neither so small as to be reduced to one nor very great.⁶ The kings were expected not to decide singly⁷ and it was deemed proper for the king to consult either three or four.⁸ The real aim was to fully take into account the alround worth of the ministers before fixing their numbers. Even one minister, who possessed brilliance, valour, skill and wisdom, could help a king achieve great glory, greatness, and splendour.⁹ According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the ministers should be well-versed in learning, should be valient, controlled of their emotions, born of high families, and capable of understanding others' mind.¹⁰ Right counsel from such ministers was deemed to be the root cause of the success of the kings.¹¹ Only those ministers, who were capable of maintaining secrecy about counsel, were the real saviours of kings.¹² In fact, the maintenance of secrecy is very much emphasized by Vālmiki,¹³ and what that poet said about the number of the ministers or the secrecy to be kept by them is very well seconded by the *Mahā-*

¹ *Mbh.*, XIV, 3—10.

² *V. Rām.*, I, 7, 1.

³ *Ibid.*, 8, 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7, 4.

⁵ *Jā.*, No. 528, Vol. V, 117.

⁶ *V. Rām.*, II, 100, 18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 100, 16.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 100, 71.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 100, 24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 100, 15.

¹¹ *V. Rām.*, II, 100, 16.

¹² *Ibid.*,

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 100, 18.

bhārata and the *Purāṇas*¹. It was the duty of the ministers to check the rulers from adopting bad courses of action.

The choice of the minister was not restricted to anyone particular caste. As most of the kings in Ancient India, so also in Aṅga where non-Brāhmaṇas, they must have been chosen most of their ministers from the non-Brāhmaṇas. The *Mahābhārata* gives a list of 37 ministers recruited on the principle of representation from each varṇa, viz. Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras.²

There seems to have been a President of the council of ministers, generally designated as the Chief-Minister. There were different portfolios allotted to the various ministers. The ministers had sometimes to perform military duties in addition to their normal functions of supervising the work of their respective departments. In other words, the scope of the work of the ministry included the whole of administration. There seems to have been sometimes a lack of proper understanding between ministers. One of the *Jātaka* is based on the quarrelsome ministers of Aṅga.³ It is just possible that in the days of Aṅga's decline, the kings were unable to keep their ministers under proper checks and the result was the growth of mutual strife.

We know from the literature of the period that a political institution, i.e. '*Paṇṣad*' was functioning during the period. The *Paṇṣad* was something like a privy-council whose sittings were often held to consider important matters of state. It was like the Vedic Samiti⁴, which was a general assembly of advisors. Dr. V.R.R. Dikshitar, on the authority of Maṇu and Vasiṣṭha, has opined that the *Paṇṣad* was "an assembly of learned men to decide legal points and customs of the land".⁵ Paṇini⁶ in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* designated the same as *Sabhā* or *Rajasabhā*, which according to N.N. Law⁷, might be "a law court, the royal court or the convivial assembly". By '*Sabhā*' was meant firstly the group of members

¹ cf. Law, N.N. : *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 31.

² For detail see, *Mbh.* II, 5, 38.

³ *Bhāṇaṇagar Jā.*, Vol. III, p. 389.

⁴ Dikshitar, V.R.R. : *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 156.

⁵ *Ibid.*,

⁶ 2, 4, 23.

⁷ *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 26.

sitting and secondly the place where they assembled.¹ The Privy-Council was a big body and had its origin in conventions and traditions. Its number and composition was neither fixed nor its sitting was regular. Any body fit for offering advice to the king on specific matters, could be invited to its meetings and could take a seat in it. It would, therefore, be pertinent to cite here the *Mahābhārata*², which expressly enjoins that the Privy-council should consist of all the four Varnas and it is quite probable that the Aṅga Parisad also composed of all the classes. On many an occasion, the ministers also attended the meetings of the Privy-council.³ It is possible that a small section of the Privy-council was always present in the court and the king had always the advantage of seeking its advice along with those of the ministers, in matters of justice and executive functions.

HOUSEHOLD OFFICIALS

Like the ministers the household officials also occupied a prominent and unique place in the administration of Aṅga like other parts of ancient India. Among this category of officials, the Purohita i.e., the chaplain occupies the prime position of honour. The office of the Purohita dated back from the early Vedic times. He was counted amongst the various Ratnins⁴ and was consecrated with the Bṛhaspatisava, i.e., the Bṛhaspati sacrifice, on the occasion of his initiation into office.⁵ He was the royal official, who planned and performed the sacrifices on behalf of the sovereign, and acted as his advisor on all religious matters.⁶ Purohita, sometimes accompanied the king into the battlefield, where he encouraged the army "by quoting Vedic authority as to the final goal of brave men in the field".⁷ Besides, the Purohita also acted as the Guru and Acārya of the royal princess.⁸ In the *Mahāgovinda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*⁹, the Purohita, Govinda,

¹ VI. II, p. 426.

² XII. 85, 7—9.

³ V. Rām., II, ch. 11.

⁴ Sat. Brā. V. 3, 1; Tail. Brā, 1, 7, 3.

⁵ Av., 24, 1.

⁶ VI. I, p. 113.

⁷ Arth., BK. X, 3, 32-33.

⁸ cf. Law, N.N. : *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 47.

⁹ *Bombay University Publication*, Pt. II, pp. 168 ff.

has been addressed by the king Renu as his father. These instances clearly indicate that the Purohita had a very high position in the court of king of ancient Āṅga.

Sthapati was another important officer of the king's court. He was called as the Chamberlain and was incharge of the royal *aren*. His duty was to look after the ladies of the royal household. He accompanied them, when they went aparking.¹ The *Rāmāyana* speaks of yellow-robed and well-ornamented old people guarding the entrances to the private chambers of the royal palace with cane-sticks in their hands.² Thus, the main function of the chamberlain's (*Sthapati*) was to keep guard over and maintain the privacy of the female apartments of the palace.

Pratihāra was yet another employee of the kings court of which we find clear reference in the *Rāmāyana*.³ He was the gate-keeper of the Royal palace, and also styled as *Dvārādhyakṣa*⁴ or *Dovārika*.⁵

Besides these, the palace absorbed a considerable number of servants, both male and female, whose duty was to serve the royal personages. They were 'sūtas' the 'Magadhas', and the 'Vandins' etc. who were the praise-singers of the king and the crownprince. They daily sang the praises of these royal personages, especially when it was their time to wake up from the bed.⁶

¹ *DPPN*, I, p. 320.

² *V. Rām.*, II, 16, 3.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 10, 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 18, 38.

⁵ *Mahābhārata Jñ.*, Vol. II, p. 241.

⁶ *V. Rām.*, II, 6, 6.

LIFE IN ANCIENT AṅGA

(A) SOCIETY

The dominant theme in Hindu social thought and practice is the specific duty of the four castes and the four orders of society. Due to the existence of the caste system Hindu society was very different from any social structure characterized by impersonalistic interaction and legal contractual relationship.¹ Hence, social relationships in the ancient Indian societies were dominated more by notions of status and a community of feeling rather than by contract and formalized patterns of behaviour.

Varnāśramadharma was the basis of social order during the period under review of which marriage was the most important institution. Dress, ornaments, food habits, recreation etc., constitute the important aspects of social life. We would, therefore describe the social life of ancient Aṅga in this period under the following heads, viz., the varṇa system, slavery, marriage (including kinds of marriages, polygamy, widow remarriage, dowry, the position of women in society etc.), food and drink, dress and ornaments, and recreations.

The Varṇa System :

The Varna system seems to have been established very early which is evident from a large number of legendary references depicted in our literature. The *Vedas* the most ancient literature of the Aryans—show that the Varṇa system began to develop in the later Vedic Age and is referred to in the latest portions of the *Rgveda* and the *Yajurveda*. The origin of the caste system has

¹ Maine, S.H. : *Early History of Institutions*, 1875.

been endlessly debated. The old literature contains a mythical account of its origin. The cosmic self-Puruṣa produced all the four Varnas (castes) out of itself. The Brāhmaṇas were the mouth, the Kṣatriyas the hands, the Vaiśyas the thighs and the Śūdras the feet of the cosmic self.¹ Modern investigators think that the Varṇa (caste) system was born out of the desire of the Vedic Aryans to maintain the purity of their blood from being contaminated with the conquered dark-skinned peoples.² Some Hindu Scholars tend to accept the economic origin of the Varṇa system.³ The fourfold division of society is thus interpreted to be a division based on difference of labour. The original name for caste in Sanskrit is Varṇa which means colour. This would tend to support a hypothesis about the racial and not the economic origin of the system. In the *Mahābhārata* also it is stated that at the time of the creation of the four Varnas, complexion was a differentiating criterion—The Brāhmaṇs were white, the Kṣatriyas were red, the Vaiśyas were yellow and the Śūdras were black.⁴ Moreover, it may be said that the Varṇa system during the period under review, however, was not rigid and people from one caste might go to the other caste.

The later Vedic literature—the *Sūtras*, the *Dharmaśāstras*, and the *Epics*, divided the Indian society on the basis of functions. We are told that the Brāhmaṇa class was mostly concerned with intellectual and spiritual enterprises;⁵ the Kṣatriyas with militaristic and administrative tasks;⁶ the Vaiśyas with agriculture and commercial functions;⁷ and the Śūdras with servile and menial works of life.⁸ The whole society, including the Jains and the Buddhists⁹, accepted these divisions of the functions of the four Varnas, which were interchangeable in the beginning. Though the first

¹ *Rv.*, X, 90, 12.

² *Ibid.*, III, 34, 9.

³ Datta, Bhupendranatha, *Studies in Indian Social Polity*, 1944, pp. 450-51.

⁴ *Mbh.*, II, 15, 16.

⁵ *Vaśiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra*, II, 13-14; also cf. Hardy., *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 68.

⁶ *Vaśiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra*, II, 15, 17; also cf. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 7.

⁷ *Mbh.*, XII, 60, 23; *Vaśiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra*, II, 18-19.

⁸ *Manusmṛti*, I, 91; also cf. *Vaśiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra*, II, 20.

⁹ *Jā.*, VI, p. 207; also cf. Mehta, R.L. ; *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 255.

three Varnas formed some sort of entity amongst themselves as against Śūdras and there was established more or less an uniformity of their functions¹, yet differences in ceremonials, rituals, as well as social and religious practices began to grow even amongst them.² Primacy of status was fixed in the descending order on Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras.³ But inspite of this fourfold classifications, in actual practice there were, since the vedic days, many subcastes, but roughly they could be put in one of the four big categories.

It is now necessary to examine the status of each of them in the society during the period under review. The Brāhmaṇas were at top of the social scale and were concerned with the functions both of an intellectual elite and of a priesthood.⁴ The rulers of Aṅga were Vaiṣnavas and followers of Brāhmaṇism. They ruled over the country in accordance with the *Dharmaśāstras* which were purely Brāhmaṇical products. The kings showed honour to the Brāhmaṇas. Some of the Aṅga rulers had appointed learned Brāhmaṇas as their ministers and never failed to satisfy them. The Brāhmaṇas were the custodians of the sacred literature and remained so inspite of the fact that time and again, great teachers, sages and philosophers came from the Kṣatriya caste and even from the castes further down. In the later periods of Indian history the Brāhmaṇas also enjoyed judicial power and there are references in the *Mahābhārata* to this effect.⁵ In later times he came to enjoy several immunities and privileges especially in taxation. The archaeological findings of the period also suggest that some kings of Aṅga made the grants of land and Agrahāras to the Brāhmaṇas to help them in their devotion to learning and religion, and performance of expensive Vedic ceremonies like *Agnihotra* and *Pañca-Mahāyajñas*. It is said that the king was to honour those Brāhmaṇas who had returned from the preceptor's house after studying the Veda, for that money which is given to the Brāhmaṇas is declared to be an imperishable treasure

¹ *Āpa. Ds.*, I, 1, 1, 6-7.

² *Ibid.*, I, 1, 1, 27; also cf. Prabhu, P.N. : *Hindu Social Organisation*, p. 295.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 1, 1, 45.

⁴ Max Weber: *Essays in Sociology*, 1946, pp. 396-97, 268; cf. *Manu.*, XI, 33.

⁵ *Mbh.*, XIV, 3-10

for kings.

Next to the Brāhmaṇas were the Kṣatriyas who were primarily concerned with the administrative works. As political power was the most important power, the Kṣatriyas often ascertained their superiority over the Brāhmaṇas. To the Kṣatriyas, the door of learning was always open. In later times he came to enjoy several immunities and privileges especially in taxation. Probably, the Upanishads were produced by them. King Janaka of Mithilā was one of the profoundest scholars of the *Vedas* in his time.

Next to the Kṣatriyas were the Vaiśyas, who were never a homogeneous group. They were mostly found as agriculturists, cattle rearers and merchants. They were responsible for the production of wealth. Like other parts of the country Aṅga also was and has been an agricultural land. The Vaiśyas tilled the land and reared cattle. They were organised into guilds which dominated the trade and industry of the country.

The last division of the society was that of the Śūdras. According to ancient authorities¹ it was the duty of the Śūdras to serve the higher castes (namely, the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas) for their livelihood. The Śūdras were denied the study of the Vedic literature and wearing of sacred thread. They did not even enjoy the freedom of movement. Several restrictions were placed on them. For example, according to the *Viṣṇu smṛti*² the first three castes must not travel in the company of the Śūdra. Maṇu³ says that a Śūdra, must not acquire wealth because thereby he causes pain to the Brāhmaṇas.

However, there are instances which show that the rigorous rules for the Śūdras were not always stressed. They were allowed to perform the work of the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas in times of distress⁴. If a Śūdra was unable to maintain himself and his family by serving the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, and the Vaiśyas, he was allowed to maintain himself by having recourse to crafts, like carpentry, drawing and painting.⁵ Further, it may be interesting to

¹ Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 120.

² *SBE*, Vol. VII, p. 199.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 430.

⁴ Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 120.

⁵ *Ibid.*

note that due to the rise of Buddhism, in course of time the social condition of Śūdras improved to a great extent. Buddhism; the rival religion, held out the promise of equality amongst people, irrespective of caste. It was in striking contrast to their existing status in Hindu religion in which they were looked down upon and were considered to be born inferior to the other castes. The Siddhas particularly worked among them. Thus the growing popularity of Buddhism among the Śūdras and the untouchables of the Hindu castes might have persuaded the Brāhmaṇas to adopt a more liberal policy and this made them to extend some economic and social concessions to the Śūdras.

SLAVERY

Slavery, one of the oldest institutions in the history of mankind, infested the Aṅga society since remote antiquity. It has been a well recognised institution in some form or other and existed as a constant factor in the social life of the period. Its prevalence may be traced to the vedic period for we find the word *Dasa* in the *R̥gveda*. Perhaps when the Aryans came, they conquered the non-Aryans and used them as slaves.

The literature of our period is full of extensive references to gifts, sales and purchase of slaves. The *R̥gveda* refers to a slave as an object of priestly gift.¹ The later Vedic literature, the *Yajus-Saṁhitās* the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads*, similarly refer to slaves as an object of gift to priests and sages by king and others. According to the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*² "the Śūdra is the servant of another, to be expelled at will and to be slain at will". Thus, the Śūdra was the worst victim of this system and was afterwards idealised in Manu's code, though with some concessions here and there.³ The *Bṛhadaranyaka-upanishad*⁴ says that Yājñavalkya, the great philosopher, was the recipient of such gift. The *Mahābhārata* records that Yudhisthira gave each of the 88000 *Snatakas* engaged in the sacrifice, thirty female slaves.⁵ Similarly the early Buddhist literature too is full of the references of slavery in the period.

¹ *Rv.*, VIII, 19—36.

² VII, 29; cf. CHI, I, 127—29.

³ *The Vedic Age* : pp. 449-50. Thakur U., *History of Mithilā*, p. 74.

⁴ *Ibid.*,

⁵ *Mbh.*, *Sabha*, 52, 45-46.

According to the *Digha* and *Anguttara Nikāya* Buddha had prohibited the Bhikshus from accepting the gifts of slaves, either male or female.¹ One *Jātaka* says that a Brāhmaṇa demanded a hundred slave girls from a king along with other requisites as his gifts, and his demands were fulfilled.² In the *Vessantara Jātaka*³ an exiled prince gives away his wife and children to a suitor. In one *Jātaka*, a *Saddhiviharika* (novice or disciple) is compared to a slave bought for one hundred *Kahapanas*.⁴ Another *Jātaka* states that a Brāhmaṇa after collecting seven hundred *Kahapanas* thought that the amount was sufficient for buying some male and female slaves.⁵

Poor economic condition of the people was a great factor responsible for the increase in the number of slaves. Indebtedness often led people to sell themselves as slaves. During famines, which are not rare in the period, people accepted slavery to maintain their lives. Besides, natural calamities, *female-plundering* would also have reduced people to drive straits. Thus it seems that war, poverty, famine and *female-plundering* etc. were responsible for the origin of slavery in Aṅga as elsewhere.

Employment of slaves appears to be a common practice and that is why there are references which show that not only kings and nobles, but also simple villagers and farmers kept slaves in their families.⁶ From the *Jātaka*⁷ we know that male and female slaves lived in the house of their masters, and performed all household duties. The *Āpastamba Dharmśūtra*, while laying down rules for the attendance or guests, states that if a guest comes one may stint himself, his wife, or his son (as to food), but by no means a slave who does his menial work.⁸ These instances clearly indicate that slaves, essentially domestic servants, had to perform diverse

¹ *Dn.*, I, 64; *AN.* II, 209.

² *Jā.*, IV, 99.

³ VI, 546.

⁴ *Jā.*, I, 224, No. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 343, No. 402.

⁶ For details see Thakur, U : "The Institution of Slavery in Mithilā" in *IHQ.* Vol. XXXV (1959), pp. 2092—26.

⁷ *Jā.*, No. 64, p. 217; *Ibid.*, No. 354, p. 162; *Ibid.*, No. 398, p. 293.

⁸ *Ap. Dh. Sū.* II, 4, 9, 11.

house-hold tasks including those in the field during the period under review.

In spite of the fact that the slaves were generally treated by the king and the people as a degraded person, there are instances showing that slaves got a human treatment from their masters. For example a slave was considered to be one of the members of his master's house-hold.¹ One master accepts the words of his slave with due honour², and the second permits him to learn reading, writing and handicraft along with his sons.³ They were even appointed as a store-keepers of property.⁴

The forms of slave differ with different writers and periods. This divergence is partly due to recognition of new categories and partly due to a more scientific classification. *Vinayapitaka*⁵ mentions three types of slaves, viz. (i) those born in the master's house, (ii) those acquired by purchase, and (iii) those captured in war; the *Vidhurapandita Jātaka* mentions four; the *Arthaśāstra* enlists five⁷; Manu⁸ mentions seven, viz., (i) those who were captured in war, (ii) who had accepted slavery on account of personal devotion, (iii) who were born in slaves family, (iv) who were purchased, (v) who were given in dowry and presents, (vi) who were obtained as part of heridity, and (vii) who became slaves under punishment. Moreover, slaves in Aṅga were more or less servants and had many a right to freedom, whenever the terms of their slavery expired.⁹

Marriage :

Marriage is an ancient institution which evolved in society to give it stability and order. It has been one of those Indian social institutions, which have continued to this day with all

¹ *Ja*, II, 428; III, 162, 167; *Mbh.*, XII.

² *Ibid*, V, 485

³ *Ibid.*, I, 351.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 225.

⁵ *Ed.*, *P.T.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 224.

⁶ *Ja.*, VI, 285.

⁷ *Arth.*, III, 13.

⁸ VIII, 415.

⁹ *Dīghā* (PTS), II, pp. 69 ff.

their historical growth. It is treated as one of the greatest religious and social sanctities.¹ The early *Smṛtis*² have mentioned eight forms of marriage prevalent during the period under review. These eight forms of marriage are mentioned again by Nārada.³ They were : (i) *Brāhma*, where the father gave away his daughter decked with ornaments and jewels to a learned man of good conduct invited by him.

(ii) *Daiva*, where the father gave away his daughter decked with ornaments, to a priest who duly officiated at the performance of a sacrifice.

(iii) *Ārsha*, where the father gave away his daughter receiving from the bridegroom a cow and a bull or a pair of either.

(iv) *Prājāpatya* where the father gave away his daughter after addressing the couple with the text, 'May both of you perform together your duties'.

(v) *Āsura*, where the bridegroom received the maiden after having given as much wealth as he could afford to the kinsmen and to the bride herself.

(vi) *Gāndharva*, or the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover.

(vii) *Rākshasa*, or the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home.

(viii) *Paiśācha*, where a man seduced a girl by getting her intoxicated or by other means.

Out of these eight forms of marriages, first four are approved and the rest four are disapproved.⁴ The condemnation of the last four forms proves that the basic idea of a proper marriage was that the father or the guardian of the girl should select the bridegroom on account of his merits and he was not to be influenced by any consideration of wealth or monetary gains.

The *svayamvara* (self-choice) system of marriage was also in

¹ *Tait. Br.*, II, 2, 2—6.

² *S.B.E.*, Vol. VII, p. 107.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 172.

⁴ *Cf. S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 174.

vogue during our period and it (svayamvara) was an accepted institution. This system was prevalent among the royal families, but on some occasions the svayamvara did not end peacefully and the girls were taken away by force. There were no child marriages in the early stages of our history.¹

Polygamy was not unknown during our period. As there were no prescriptions or limits to the number of children, one could go in for as many wives as one wished for or could maintain. Perhaps political reason was one of the justifications for a ruler for keeping more than one wife. Other reasons being the barrenness of the first wife,² the breach of the conditions of the first marriage,³ desire for having more than an ordinary number of children⁴ victory in war, where women were treated as war-booty,⁵ and unhappy conjugal relationships under monogamy. Generally people went in for more than one marriage⁶ for want of a son. A fairly good number of examples of polygamy from Aṅga history can be cited. Bṛhanmana⁷, king of Aṅga is the most prominent who practised polygamy. Polygamy, however, was mostly popular with the wealthy Vaiśya caste or the Kṣatriya aristocracy and rarely with the Brāhmaṇas and the Śūdras.

Widow-remarriage was allowed in the period under review. In such marriage performance was given to the younger brother of the deceased husband for procreation of children and there are numerous instances of it in the *Vedic* and *Epic* period. They do not seem to have been popular with the higher Varnas. However, the social laws did permit a widow to undergo a sort of temporary marriage (called *Niyoga*), provided she had no issue.⁸ According to this system, a widow could have a temporary union with her brother-in-law or a Sapinda of her husband, with a view

¹ Sarkar, S. C. : *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*, p. 91; Mehta, R.L., *op. cit.*, p. 277.

² *Manusmṛti*, IX, 81; *Arth.*, BK. III, 2.47 ff.

³ *Manusmṛti*, IX, 73.

⁴ *Arth.* BK. III, 2, 52-53.

⁵ Cf. Vaidya, C.V. : *op. cit.*, pp. 74-5.

⁶ Cf. Prabhu, O.N. : *Hindu Social Organisation*, p. 198; *Arth.* III, p. 10.

⁷ Pradhan, S.N. : *Chronology in Ancient India*.

⁸ *S B E.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 181.

conceiving. But it was stressed¹ that the parties were not to meet again after conception had taken place. This concession might have been influenced by the idea that a woman's greatest purpose and fulfilment in life is to be a mother.

Dowry seems to have been prevalent in India since very early time. It was constituted by whatever presents the parents gave to their newly married daughters going to their husband's houses. It formed their personal and inalienable property.² Wealthy people gave various kinds of precious metals, jewels, clothes, food materials, other household utensils, implements and sometimes money.³ Romapāda, the king of Anga, gave a large number of dowries to his adopted daughter, Santa.⁴ Similarly, Janaka, the king of Mithilā gave to Sitā a daughter's portion (Kanyādāna), which comprised a hundred thousand cows, various clothes, elephants, horses, chariots, footmen, a hundred slaves both males and females, gold, pearls, and diamonds.⁵

Women, during the period under review, somehow or other occupied an honourable position in the society. In the *Rgveda*, the husband and the wife are described as taking equal part in the sacrificial rites. The 'dampati'—the householder and his wife with 'one accord' press the Soma (a plant, most important in sacrificial offerings), rinse and mix it with milk, and offer adoration to the God.⁶ We are told that women attained great eminence as philosophers along with men. For example, Visvavara, of the family of Atri, Ghosī, the daughter of sage Kakshīvān, Lopāmudrā, wife of Agastha, and queen Sāsvatī, wife of king Asanga etc., were well versed in the sacred texts.⁷ Thus, during the Vedic period, so far as education was concerned, the position of woman was generally not unequal to that of the man. Soman and similar education as men. She took part in philosophic debates like man and with man.

¹ *S.B.E.* : Vol. XXXII, p. 181.

² VI, 1, p. 484.

³ Cf. *DPPN*, II, p. 901.

⁴ *Rām.*, II, 78, 5—9.

⁵ *V. Rām.*, I, 74, 3—6.

⁶ *Rv.*, VIII, 31.5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 28; X., 39-40; I, 179, 1-2; VIII, 1,

But in the later Vedic period status of women was degraded. They were excluded from the right of Upanayana and other religious rites. Still, however, they enjoyed many privileges.¹ We are told in the *Mahābhārata* that the goddess of prosperity² resides with the woman who is given to truth and sincerity and who pays due respect to the gods and the Brāhmanas³, who is pleasing, auspicious in appearance, and is gifted with virtues.⁴ In the *Śānti-Parva*, Bhīṣma advises Yudhisthira that if warrior-kings died in the great war without leaving male issues, their daughters should be crowned as queens of the respective countries.⁵ The *Anuśāsana-parva* informs us that Bhīṣma speaking in terms of high reverence about women says : 'Women should always be adored and treated with love.'⁶ The *Mahābhārata* further enlightens us by illustrating how women used to take upon themselves the task of counselling and guiding men in religious and social matters. Thus, a lady named Sulabhā discusses the problem of attaining mokṣa.⁷ Draupadī is said to have given a long lecture to Yudhisthira and Bhīma upon certain problems of conduct and morality.⁸ Since she was a Pandita, a learned lady⁹, Draupadī is once more found giving a long discourse⁹ to her husband on his duties as a Kṣatriya, i.e. a member of the warrior class.

It appears from the Buddhist literature that the status of women was on the whole low. For example, in the *Jātakas*,¹⁰ women are depicted as depraved, wicked, sensuous slanderous, sinful and what not the earlier texts also are not absolutely free from unflattering words about them. According to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, "woman is the filth of celebrity, where men get themselves

¹ *Mbh.*, Anu. 11.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Anu. 46 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Śānti., 321; *Vrs.*, 20—192.

⁷ *Mbh.*, Van. 27. ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Mbh.*, Śānti., 14.

¹⁰ Nos. 61—5; 269, 285 & 327; also cf. Mehta, R.L., *op. cit.*, pp. 287—89.

entangled"¹ The *Sappa sūta*,² speaks of five disadvantages in a black snake and the same disadvantages in a women. They are unclean, evil smelling, timid, tearful, and they betray friends. Lord Buddha's own experience of women had not been always happy³, and as a reaction, it seems, came his initial attitudes of unwillingness to admit women to his order.

Contrary to the Buddhist literature the *Smṛtis* provide a high position to women the society during the period under review. According to Manu, "women must always be honoured and respected by the fathers, brothers, husbands and brother-in-law who desire their own welfare, and where women are honoured, there the very gods are pleased, but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite even could yield rewards"⁴. In the family in which the wife pleased with the husband, and the husband feel happy with the wife, prosperity always resides.⁵ In Manu's opinion, women were created by the Almighty to be mothers, just as men were created to be fathers; therefore, he says, it has been ordained by the *Dharmaśāstras* that all the activities belonging to Dharma and Yajna have to be performed by man and wife together.⁶ It is further laid down that a woman in her monthly course is regarded 'untouchable' and hence the husband should not approach his wife, even though he may be mad with desire, nor should he sleep with her in the same bed.⁷ It is in the duty of the king to protect such women who have no one to protect them, who are sterile, who have no sons and whose family is extinct. We are told in the *Mahābhārata*, *Śukra-nīti* add the *Dharmaśāstras* that a scheme of education in the sixtyfour arts for women should be managed.

In the household affairs, women occupied a very high position and she shared with her husband full control over the household

¹ Sārṇāth, Hindi Ed., Pt. I, p. 39.

² *Anguttara* (PTS), Vol. III, p. 260.

³ *Maṃsūka-Jātaka*, No. 285.

⁴ *Manu.*, III, 55—59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 60. ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IX, 96.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 40-42; cf. also *Yāj.* I, 138.

property, children, servants and general management. She received the fullest respect in her capacity as the mistress of the house. She served her husband, regarded as her only refuge¹ and idol, but she had herself a right to service from many including her sons. Āpastamba pays a great compliment to women as authorities in customs and practice by ruling that 'one should learn from women, what ceremonies are required by custom in marriage'. As mother she was deemed to be the object of devotion, maintenance and good treatment by her children.² The daughters got the same care, patronage, and love in the family as the sons.³

Moreover, by the very nature of their sex they were circumscribed in their freedom for protection from all possible dangers. Perhaps for that very reason they were dependent on man. But, from the point of view of family stability and happiness, she was to be respected and honoured. In Aṅga during the period under review woman was regarded with due respect in every sphere of life and she was not subject to any of the merciless laws of an unsympathetic society. Even when she overstepped moral laws, she was treated with sympathy.

Food and Drinks :

Though in the land of Aṅga, the cult of non-violence was preached by Jainism and Buddhism, even then the dietary habits of the Aṅga people had not changed much. The change into settled and agricultural life from that of a primitive and pastoral must have, no doubt, wrought many differences in matters of food and drinks, but once they came about, they remained for a sufficiently long period. The literature of our period presents more or less an uniform list of edibles.

Vegetarian food seems to have been quite popular among the people. The cereals which were most commonly used were barley, wheat, rice, phaseolus Mungo (*Mudga*), and phaseolus radiatus

¹ *V. Rāma*, II, 27.5, also cf. Mehta, R.L., *op. cit.*, pp. 285—290.

² *S.N. Sārnāth Hindi Ed.*, Pt. I, p. 143.

³ *Majjhima*, 359-60.

(Masa)¹ etc. Sugar-cane and its preparation like sugar-candy and sugar-plums, honey, rice preparations—such as gruel and soup, and sweets were the niceties of the kitchen.² Milk and its preparations like butter, curd, and ghee as well as their combinations with rice and flour etc. were used in abundance.³ Some varieties of all were also used as food.⁴ Amongst the vegetable that were commonly used were *Kushmāṇḍa* (gourd), *Alābu* (bottle-gourd), egg fruits (bringals), *Pālaka*⁵ etc. Besides these roots of plants were also used as food.⁶

Non-vegetarian food was, by no means, unpopular. It seems that meat was a common diet of the people in general as we find numerous references in the literature of our period to hunting and eating of the meat of the killed animals. Meat was obtained not only from the hunted animals of the forests but also from slaughter-houses which were run for killing animals. The animals, whose meat was generally accepted by the society were the deer of all species, iguenas, a kind of lizard, boars are pigs, cocks, hens, and peacocks.⁸ Fish was also taken by the people.⁹ Rams, goats, and buffaloes also must have been killed for meat. During famine people were allowed to take even the flesh of elephants, horse, and dogs.¹⁰ It is said that the patient of rheumatism took the oily flesh of boars and bears since it was considered to be a good medical diet for such patient.¹¹

Meat-eating was so popular in the society that even the Buddhist monks despite the teacher's advice against the acceptance, relished it. We are told that hundreds of meat-dishes were served

¹ Cf. *Majjhima*, pp. 36, 49.

² *V. Rām.*, I, 53, 2-3; *Vinaya*, p. 26.

³ *Vinaya*, p. 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Agn.*, Ch. 175, p. 670.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *V. Rām.*, III, 47.23; *Jā.*, Vol. IV, p. 18; *Godhā Jā.*, Vol. III, p. 57.

⁸ *V. Rām.*, II, 91-70.

⁹ *Vinaya*, p. 26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20-21.

to the monks¹ by their worshippers. Almost every kind of animal flesh, including sometimes that of the cow, as well as of the bull also, was taken as late as the Buddhist period. The *Majjhima Nikaya*² speaks of a cow's flesh and its cutting into small pieces by a cow-killer. The *Gijjha Jātaka*³ tells us of some cow-flesh being brought from a cattle's burning place by a kindly merchant to be given to some miserable vultures. Moreover, due to the utility of cows in agriculture and in shape of milk, people hesitated from taking its flesh and it seems that its flesh was totally stopped by the people in due course.

Sweets and milk preparations were also very common in those days. Among the sweets *Modaka*⁴ was specially popular. Fruits were also an important part of everyday food. Guests were entertained with fruits. Besides there was a special *Vrata* known as *Phala-Vrata*⁵ consisting entirely of fruits.

The *Purāṇic* literature also supports the fact that meat-eating was very common among the people of the period. For example, the *Agni-Purāṇa*⁶ strictly prohibited a *Vratī* or observer of any religious ceremony from taking meat or wine during the period of performance. The restriction on meat-eating during religious observance naturally indicates that meat as a part of food was common in those days otherwise there would have been no occasion for such restrictions.

Drinking of wine was a popular custom amongst the people during our period. It was taken both by the general masses as well as the ruling class. *Surā* and *Madirā* were the most common words for drinks which were prepared from several things. Besides *Soma* was a sacrificial drink, *Citraratha's* father *Dharmarathā* drank soma along with Indra (i.e. offered Soma sacrifice to Indra) at

¹ *V. Rām.*, II, p. 235.

² pp. 36, 216.

³ Vol. II, p. 50.

⁴ *Agn.*, ch. 179, p. 684.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. 175, p. 670.

⁶ Ch. 175, p. 670.

Life in Ancient Aṅga

Gaya on the Viṣṇupada mountain¹ and Kālānjara.² In the post *Rgvedic* period we find the list of a large number of products prepared from milk and grain. *Yajurveda saṃhitā*s mentions a new beverage called *māsara*. It seems that drinks were generally taken on the occasion of sacrifices, worship of the deities and festivities. We are told in the *Rāmāyana*³ that Śītā, when she crossed the Gaṅgā, while proceeding with her husband Rāma to the Dandaka forest, promised that she would propitiate that river with a thousand jars of surā, if her husband was able to safely come back from the forest. According to *Kumbha Jātaka*⁴, on an occasion, 500 women friends of Viśākhā, the famous woman disciple of the Buddha, took part in the drinking feast in which strong drinks were used, except Viśākhā, who abstained from drinking. Wine-merchants and drinking-halls are also referred to.⁵ The *Maha-Sutasoma Jataka*⁶ speaks of a Brāhmaṇa father saying to his son, who once got drunk very strongly and praised his drinks: "if this is so our family tradition will be destroyed and our wealth will perish".⁷ It seems that the Brāhmaṇas abstained from taking wine. The Buddha describes six evils of wine enumerated⁸ as the loss of wealth, the growth of mutual strife, generation of sickness, incurring of bad name, loss of shamefulness and loss of intelligence. Though, the Buddha hated the use of wine, even then there are clear indications to it in the literature. We are told that in Buddha's time the people of Aṅga and Magadha used to make themselves merry by partaking of fish, meat and wine just at the border of the two kingdoms.⁹ On the whole, society seems to have been certainly against the use of drinks.

¹ *Vayu*, 99, 102.

² *Brāhma*, p. 13, 39.

³ *V. Rām*, II, 52, 87, 89.

⁴ Vol. V, pp. 7 ff.

⁵ *Kumbha Jā.*, Vol. V, pp. 7 ff.; also cf. *DPPN*, II, p. 1023.

⁶ Vol V, p. 253.

⁷ *Maha-sutasoma Jā.*, Vol. V, p. 253.

⁸ *Sigālovāda Sutta* of the *Digha* (Śārnāth, Hindi Ed.), p. 272.

⁹ *Majjhima*, Vol. II, p. 211.

Dress and Ornaments :

Wearing of clothes and decking the body with ornaments have remained enduring passions of human beings in all ages since man developed the taste for clothes and ornaments. But the designs of clothes and ornaments and the manner of wearing them have changed according to the needs and geographical environments of society.

The clothing of the body consisted primarily of two pieces of cloth. One meant for the lower portions of the body known as 'Adhovastra' and the other for the upper portions, known as the 'Uttariya'.¹ Sewen clothes were perhaps not used in the beginning and the 'Uttariya' seems to have been more common in women than men. Ascetics and those, who practised penances, used the bark of trees, grass,² or cloth made of some variety of jute or hessian.³ The kings, their ministers, and other aristocrat and wealthy people possessed varieties of shawls of various colours, presumably of wool and silk, which they could change at will.⁴ Cotton was the most common material for clothes known to Indians, so also to the Aṅga from very early times. Silk⁵ and wool also were fairly prevalent and used by the Aṅga people. We also get reference to clothes being prepared from palm-bark, the stalks of the coral tree, or from the bark of the 'Bhaṅga' plant.⁶

Literature of the period more often refers to cut and sewn garment covering the female bosom. It may be compared with the modern *choli* (Jacket or bodice). Women dancers wore a kind of embroidered garment.⁷ *Vādhuya* was worn by the bride at the marriage ceremony during the Vedic period. In the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* we hear of a set of sacrificial garments which consisted of a silken undergarment, an overgarment and a turban (*usnisha*). Turban was used both by men and women. Uncoloured

¹ *Majjhima*, p. 112.

² *V. Rām*, II, 52, 70.

³ *Majjhima*, p. 49.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 131.

⁵ *Vinaya*, p. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 454, 293, 107.

⁷ *Rv.*, I, 92, 4.

woolen garment and sandal or shoe, made of boar skin, were also in use.

Reference is made in the *Vinayapitaka* to heeled shoes¹, of various designs and colours, woolen sleepers or sandals of different kinds and makes², mosquito-curtains,³ and embroidered pillows.⁴ The skins of lions and tigers, wrapped cotton, and woolen blankets were used as 'beddings'⁵ for comforts by the people. Thus, it seems that the people of Āṅga, like other parts of India were well dressed and fond of decorations.

Use of ornaments is an old practice in Indian society. The people of Āṅga were quite fond of ornaments which were used by both the sexes. For each season there were particular kinds of ornaments and people wore them at the beginning of the season. The ornaments were prepared from gold, silver, bronze, iron and precious stones. From the sculptural representations of the region, it is found that most parts of the body such as ears, neck, upper and lower arms, fingers, waist and ankles had their various appropriate ornaments. We are told in the *Lalitavistara*⁶ that five hundred ornaments were prepared under the orders of Suddhodana, which were meant for almost all the portions of the body of his son, Siddhartha, including ornaments for hands, feet, head and neck, seal-rings, earrings, armlets, waist-chains, golden threads, nets mounted with jewels, necklaces of various kinds of jewels, bracelets, and delightful crowns.⁷

It appears from the *Jātakas* that necklace (*Mālā*), earrings (*Kundala*), bracelets (*Keyūra*) and waist-chains⁸ were quite common in woman both amongst the wealthy and poorer sections of the society. Besides these, there were the *Lalaṭikā*,⁹ an ornament for

¹ *Vinaya*, pp. 204-5.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 406-8; *V. Rām*, II, 112, 21-5; *Jā.*, V. p. 298.

³ *Vinay*, p. 429.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁶ Ch. I, p. 178.

⁷ *Lalitavistara*, Ch. I, p. 178.

⁸ *Jā.*, VI, p. 590; *Jā.*, V, pp. 202, 215.

⁹ *Vinaya*, pp. 350, 419.

the forehead, tops for the ear, armlets and rings. Thus, it seems that the ornaments of different metals were largely used by the people of Aṅga according to their status and means.

Besides the dress and ornaments, there were other fineries like unguents, paints, powders, and fashioning of the body in many ways. Fashionable house-holders seem to have grown pretty long hair over the head and beards on the chin. Hair dressing was practised both by men and women. Generally plaits were worn by women, but there are references to such men, who had their hair plaited.¹ They used² powders as well as paints for the shine of their faces and other parts of the body and dyed their feet. Men and women, for keeping their hair and skin smooth, used oily substances.

Recreations :

The people of Aṅga paid special attention towards their recreations and hence they spent their leisure in various sports. Hunting seems to have occupied a pre-eminent position in this respect. The most common objects of hunting were the boars,³ the buffaloes, the deer of all species, the lion, the tiger, and the bears etc. The *Majjhima Nikāya*⁴ refers to the ruse of sown corn-fields in the midst of jungles for the purpose of attracting deer, for whose catching hounds and nets were used.⁵

Festive gatherings, known as *samajas* were observed on fixed occasions by the people of Ancient Aṅga. The nature of *samajas* must have differed with times and places or different interests of the people. However, they seem to have included⁶ fairs, festivities, recreations of many a sort, play and sports etc. It seems that the royal court was usually chosen as the venue of those *samajas* and the kings themselves invited the people to witness them. We are told in the *Jātaka* that sometimes mountain peaks also were chosen as their sites.⁷

¹ Rv., VII, 33, 1.

² *Majjhima*, p. 334; *Dīgha*, p. 4; *Vinaya*, pp. 419-20; *Jā.*, Vol. V, pp. 150, 203, 215, 302; VI, p. 232.

³ *Raghuvamśa*, IX, 49.

⁴ p. 98.

⁵ *Raghuvamśa*, IX, 53.

⁶ *Jā.*, Vol., II, p. 253, IV, p. 458; VI, pp. 7, 277.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 538.

From a hymn in the *Rgveda*, we learn that gambling had a great charm for some people.¹ The Buddhist literature also supports the prevalence of gambling. From the *Jātakas*, it appears that gambling was the sport of the wealthy and royal people² and also for habitual persons. We are told in the *Brāhmajāla-sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*³ about the various plays of dice. Mention is also made of a *Yakkha* who was an inhabitant of Anga and who came to the kingdom of Koravya to play at dice.⁴

Buddha has prescribed six evils of gambling, viz. that the defeated gambler becomes anxious for the lost money, the victorious one begets enmity, there is immediate loss of money in dice-playing, there grows a public lack of belief in a gambler's words, a gambler is despised by his friends and councillors, and that none is prepared to give his daughter in marriage to a gambler.⁵ From the sayings of the Buddha it seems that gambling was not liked by the society in general during the period under review.

Dancing, singing, playing on various musical instruments, dramatic performance,⁶ playing with small iron balls,⁷ playing with bamboos or sticks, elephant-fighting, horse-fighting, buffallow-fighting, cock-fighting, bull-fighting, goat-fighting, ram-fighting, dove-fighting, fish-fighting, wrestling, ordinary fighting, and watching the manoeuvres and fighting of an army were other recreations.⁸ From a statement in the Gautama *Dharmasūtra*⁹ it is clear that some people earned their livelihood by dancing and singing. Stories and historical narratives would be recited at the performances of *Aśvamedha* and *Rajasuya* sacrifices. *Mahābhārata festival* was delightful to all sections of people, and it would be enlivened with different kinds of musical instruments and with fun and frolic. Courtesans cultivated the art of singing and dancing, in

¹ *Rv.*, X, 34.

² *Jā.*, Vol. I, p. 289; *Majjhima*, p. 358.

³ *Bombay University, publication*, Pt. I, p. 7; also cf. *Vinaya*, p. 349.

⁴ *Majjhima*, Vol. II, pp. 273-274.

⁵ *Dīgha.*, p. 272.

⁶ *V. Rām.*, I, 5, 12.

⁷ *Jā.*, Vol. V, pp. 196, 203; VI, p. 741.

⁸ *Dīgha*, Pt. I, p. 7.

⁹ *XV.*, 18.

order to amuse¹ people. We are told that Karna the suta king of Aṅga offered presentations to Sayama Magadhi, a courtesan in lieu for her services.² Tanks often formed part of the gardens and proved to be attractive resorts for water-sports, a favourite pastime of the rich and the kings.³

(B) RELIGION :

India has been a land of toleration and assimilation. It was this reason due to which different religions and sects have flourished here, with much of mutual give and take, but generally without any violent conflicts. India's toleration and catholicity did not only shelter all faiths but also contributed to the worship of many deities whose forms were the results of cult amalgams. In maintaining such a healthy atmosphere, the religious outlook of the people and of religious teachers played an important role. Besides, the credit also goes to Indian monarchs, who hardly interfered with religion and society and considered it their duty to protect and encourage all. It seems that politics was generally not mingled with religion. This is true of the religious history of our period. We find that in Aṅga all the important religions such as Brāhmaṇism, Jainism and Buddhism, flourished during the period under review without any conflict with one another. The most admirable features of the religious life of this period are the tolerant policy of the kings who ruled over the land. The liberal attitude of the people who, though strong in their loyalty to their respective faiths, seldom descended to physical clashes and vulgar abuses. The tolerant and rather positive policy of the kings to help all religions and the reasonable attitude of the people about religious propaganda contributed to the peaceful development of all religions side by side.

Brāhmaṇism :

Brāhmaṇical religion is also called the religion of the *Vedas*. It seems that the majority of the Aṅga people were adherents of it. Originally that (Vedic) religion was plain and simple, in which the people worshipped various forces and phenomena of Nature.

¹ *Saṅhyutta*, Pt. II, p. 696.

² *Mbh. Karna Parva*, 38, 18.

³ Mehta, R. L., *op. cit.*, p. 354.

Natural phenomena were conceived as the expression of some spiritual beings—manifestations of various gods. With the afflux of time, while the popular superstitious beliefs in spirits, spells, incarnations and witch-crafts prevailed as before, the sacrificial aspect of the religion developed tremendously.¹ Sacrifice was the form of cult which the people devoted to divinities. It bears a new spirit of symbolism and spirituality. In the words of Oldenberg, "The gods have so far grown beyond human dimensions that the magic spells which could compel them at the will of man, no longer appear as the proper agency with which to influence them. And on the other hand, they are as yet too far removed from pure spirituality for a purely spiritual form of adoration. The worshipper may and must make himself acceptable to them by the simplest measures, industriously, loudly, even obtrusively. Resembling manas they do, they eat and drink like men. Accordingly offerings of food and intoxicating drink were needful, in order to fortify them and to stir them to mighty actions. They had to be flattered; they were to be addressed in the most artfully agreeable style and in the most superlative expressions possible as to their grandeur and their splendour".²

When the cult of sacrifices became popular in the religious field, it required for its performance expert knowledge and specialised functions. Hence, it was performed by the priestly class, who was supposed to be expert in this field. This priestly class was no other than the Brāhmanas, whose main function was 'Yājña', i.e. sacrificing for others or make others sacrifice. The priests received a good dividends in the form of Dakṣiṇā (sacrificial fees) for performing that work.

Brāhmanical literature informs us that amongst the popular sacrifices, the Aśvamedha, Rājasūya, Viśvajita, Agniṣṭoma, Āyusṭoma, Atirāta, Putreṣṭi, Aindra Iṣṭi, Samyakāsa, and Puruṣmedha etc. occupied important place in the religious life of the people during the period under review. The Buddhist literature ascribes these sacrifices to the Brāhmanas. Their common features were the offerings of sacrificial oblations (Haviṣ) to fire and

¹ Thakur, U. : *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithilā*, 1964, p. 20.

² *Ancient India its language and Religion*, p. 79.

through fire to gods, which were followed by profuse alms givings.¹

We are told in the *Mahābhārata*² that thousand *Aśvamedha* sacrifices were performed by Yuvanāśva II, who in turn was followed by his son and successor, Māndhatā.³ *Aśvamedhas* were mainly political sacrifices, open to supreme monarchs only, which were performed in connection with political conquests. It appears from the study of the two *Epics* that almost all the famous heroes (kings) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* had performed *Aśvamedha* sacrifices during their regime.⁴ Successful world conquest by a monarch was followed by *Viśvajita* sacrifice, in which everything possessed by the sacrificer was given in alms. *Āyusṭoma*, *Atirātra* and *Aindra Iṣṭi*, seems to have been supplementary to the *Putreṣṭi* sacrifice, which was performed by sonless kings of ancient India. *Puruṣamedhas* is regarded as horribly inhuman and heinous sacrifice since in it human lives were sacrificed. Hence rightly, V. M. Apte⁵ says, the *Puruṣamedha* may have been borrowed from the non-Aryan aborigines. With the growth of time, this sacrifice was regarded obnoxious by the society in general.

In the following countries, however, there began to grow a reaction against sacrifices, since the common man had ceased to find any real significance in them. The complexities of the sacrificial ritual and the fire-pit technicalities were understood by a small class of priests only, which led to the growth of Druidism. The ordinary people remained mostly ignorant spectators, and the costs of the various *Yājñas* became prohibitive to them. Besides, the Hindu theory that religions do not come from without but from within was ridiculously ignored. The priests simply got them by heart and their meaning true or false-became exclusively their own property. The mantras in course of time came to be regarded as a thing of magic—known only to the priests or *Yājñikas*. Fast steeped in superstitions and pseudoreligious beliefs, the

¹ cf. Barth, A.: *Religions of India*, London, 1914, p. 192.

² III, 126, 5-6.

³ *Mbh.*, XII, 29, 913; see also III, 126, 37.

⁴ For details see *V. Rām.*, I, ch. 39; *Mbh.*, III, 107, 11. ff; *Bh.* IX, 8, 7-8; *Bd.* III, 63, 152 and 182; *Vāyu.*, 88, 144; *Śna.* II, Sec. 5, 38, 48.

⁵ *Social and Religious life in the Grhyasūtras*, Bombay, 1954, p. 205.

people acclaimed them as gods on the earth (Bhūdevas)¹. Numerous intricacies and rituals grew into infinite. Sacrifices were continued for years and hundreds of priests were engaged for the purpose. The commands of the *Bhūdevas* must be obeyed in any case, or else, they would have to face innumerable devine calamities.

Moreover, the *upaniṣads* expound a new religion which was opposed to the sacrificial ceremonies. It deals with Brāhman or Ātman as the only under-lying and ultimate reality, for which ritual is useless and knowledge is all important.²

These extremely rigid forms of religious sacrifices, as well as the new religious outlook of the *Upaniṣads* evoked spiritual unrest and revolt, that were responsible for the rise and growth of two new heretical sects—Jainism and Buddhism. But it does not mean that due to the rise of these religions (Jainism and Buddhism) the spirit underlying the sacrifices totally evaporated. It had still some impact on the popular mind. G.C. Pande has rightly remarked that their (Jainism and Buddhism) movements were only a culmination of the growing reformatory mood of the people.³ As a result of spiritual unrest and the rise of Jainism and Buddhism in due courses the Brāhmaṇical religion remained confined to a small section of the people of early Aṅga.

Inspite of the fact that Jainism and Buddhism found many followers among the inhabitants of Aṅga, a great body of the people of the Aṅga country remained staunch followers of their ancient faith (Brāhmaṇism). It would, therefore, be proper to discuss separately the state of the various Brāhmaṇical cult, viz., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Śakti worship, during the period under review, before dealing with the prevalence of Jainism and Buddhism.

(A) *Vaiṣṇavism* : “Vaiṣṇavism is the name given to the Bhakti religion which recognises Viṣṇu, also called Bhāgavata, Puruṣottama, Nārāyaṇa, Hari, as the sole god. He is defined as the unborn (Aja) and the Eternal (Śāśvata). He is the creator (Dhātā),

¹ Tkakur, U. : *Studies in Jainism & Buddhism in Mithilā*, 1964, p. 22.

² cf. *Ibid.*, p. 21; also see *History of Mithilā*, pp. 94-95.

³ Pande, G.C. : *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, University of Allahabad, 1957, pp. 315—317.

the embodiment of immorality (Amritam), the father and the mother and the Eternal receptor of the universe".¹

Worship of Viṣṇu is as old as the *R̥gveda*. In the Vedic period he was eminently a god of sacrifice (Yājña). The predominant feature of Bhāgavatism or Vaiṣṇavism is devotion to Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva.² Reference to Bhaktas of Viṣṇu is traced in the *R̥gvedic* hymn mentioning sūris³, as a class favoured by Viṣṇu. In the *Mahābhārata*, Vāsudeva-Krishna is identified with the highest God. Thus, all these evidences certainly point to the continuity of the Vāsudeva cult, that is, Vaiṣṇavism throughout our period.

The people of Aṅga were strong believers of Vaiṣṇavism. It appears that in the country of Aṅga, Mandār Hill has been a noted centre of the Bhāgavatas or the Vaiṣṇavas. We are told in the *Varāha Purāṇa*⁴ that Mandāra is dear to all the Bhāgavatas. God Viṣṇu under the title Madhusūdana (destroyer of Madhu) is said to reside there (mandāra madhusūdanam).⁵ The *Narasimha Purāṇa* records that Mandāragiriketanah (one having Mount Mandāra as his abode, symbol of standard) is one of the appellation of Viṣṇu.⁶ The Vaiṣṇava religion was so popular in the country of Aṅga that even during the reign period of Moghul emperor Akbar, the worship of god Madhusūdana was performed by the people. It is further stated that Catrapati, son of Vāsudeva built an abode of victory (temple) for god Madhusūdana in the saka year 1521 (A.D. 1599) when Dushansha, a brāhmaṇa was acting as the priest.⁷ A small black-stone image of god Madhusūdana is still worshipped in a temple at Baunsi, a modern village of ancient Aṅga, which is situated about two miles to the south of Mandār hill. Worship of god Narasimha on Mandār hill also bear testimony to its being a seat of the Bhāgavatas. We are told that a Mandār hill inscription discovered among Vaidyanātha

¹ Ray Chaudhuri, H.C. : *The Early History of the Vaiṣṇava*, Sect, (2nd Ed.) University of Calcutta, 1936.

² *Bṛhat Saṁhita*, I XIX-IXX.

³ *Rv.* I, 22, 20.

⁴ Ch. 143., V, 2.

⁵ *Vr.* Ch. 143, V. 2; *Nr.* Ch. 65, V. 7; *Ag.* Ch. 305, v. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *J.A.S.B.*, November, 1870, p. 295.

temple inscriptions at Deoghar in the District of Santhal Parganas records that king Ādityasena along with his queen Konadevī made an establishment of god Narhari (man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu) apparently at Mandār hill.

We are told that some years back a small beautiful image of Vārāha along with two other small images of Viṣṇu has been dug out on the hill near the Sitā Kunda tank. Besides, Mandāra hill also contains three figures of Viṣṇu lying on his serpent-bed (śeṣa-śāyī Viṣṇu). The *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa¹ refers to the footmarks of Viṣṇu on the slopes of Mandāra. Thus it is evident from the above references that Aṅga has been an important seat of Vaiṣṇavism or Bhāgavatism since long. It was possibly this sanctity of Mandāra hill as a Vaiṣṇavite centre that impelled Caitanya, the great Vaiṣṇava saint of Bengal, to pay a visit to this place in A.D. 1505.²

(B) *Śaivism* : Śaivism is the worship of God Śiva. It can be traced back to a very early period. Marshall has found prototype of Śiva and liṅga symbol as well in the Indus valley.³ In the *Ṛgvedic* literature, Rudra is frequently mentioned.⁴ He was supposed to be the God of destruction and later on people began to worship him for protection. As the protector of animals and cattle, he is represented as Paśupati.⁵ However, it was the amalgamation of Vedic Rudra, the atmospheric God and the proto-historic anthropomorphic male deity of the Harappa culture which led to the evolution of the Śiva deity. Yaduvansi has collected together a large number of evidences to show that various myths and legends associated with Śiva arose from the references or imageries in the Vedic literature and from Rudra's absorption or the pre-Aryan male deity⁶—prototype of Śiva. Later, in the *Svetasvatara Upaniṣad*, Yaduvansi sees a hint of the rise of Bhak-

¹ 8., v. 23.

² Vide Prabhudatta Brāhmachari, *Śrī Śrī Caitanya-Caritāvalī*, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, 3rd ed. Pt. I, p. 250.

³ Marshall, J.: *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation*, London, 1931, I, p. 52.

⁴ *Rv.*, I, 143, 6; II, 33; I, 43; VI, 74.

⁵ *Rv.*, I, 114, 9.

⁶ Yaduvansi, *Saivamata*, Rāshtrabhasha Parishad, Patna, 1955 pp. 1—38 ff.

tism in relation to Śiva as well as Viṣṇu.¹ In the *Epics*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, Śaivism is a fully developed and established fact. Śiva is bestower of boons.² Arjuna obtained Paśupata weapon by worshipping Śiva.³ These instances clearly indicates that Śaivism was quite popular during the period under review.

The literary and archaeological finds speak of the great popularity and veneration in which Lord Śiva was held in Aṅga. Its worship was widespread among the men and women-folk. From the several *Purāṇas* we learn that in the country of Aṅga, Mandāra Hill was an abode of Lord Śiva.⁴

Common people appear to have performed the worship of Śiva in the form of their choice uninterrupted. According to Hindu literature⁵, there are two main aspects of Śiva. In the first form he is called Mahādeva or Śambhu, a god of mild disposition, and in the second he is known as the fiercely tempered Bhairava Rudra. The Mahādeva or Śambhu form represents goodness (Śivam) and a state of 'Gunātita' or a state of being above the attributes. His Rudra form may be taken as the destructive power of the universe. Śiva in the Mahādeva form bestows blessings. In this form, he is described as wearing a crescent-moon on the head. He possesses a third eye on the forehead, and his hands carry a trident, a bow, and a horn etc. We are told in the *Matsya-Purāṇa*⁶ that his ornament is serpents. He is described variously as possessing four, eight, ten, or even twelve hands. In his other form, viz. Bhairava or Rūdra, he is described in the *Agni-Purāṇa*⁷ as possessing a grim face with protruding teeth, a pot belly and wearing a garland of skulls. He has plaited hair and many hands. His trident, the garland of skulls and also the cobras are the very symbols of destruction. His destructive form is born when crime is committed.

¹ Yaduvansi, *Śaivismata*, Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna, 1955, pp. 1—38ff 41—56.

² *Rām.*, *Balakanda*, 36, 9-10.

³ *Mbh.*, *Vanaparva*, 87.

⁴ *Linga Purana*, Ch. 53, v. 9, *Vāmana Purāṇa*, ch. 66, vv. 42—48; ch. 68, vv. 4-5; ch. 69, vv. 81-82; *Padma Purāṇa*, ch. I, vv. 4-5.

⁵ Bhattacharya, B.C. : *Indian Images*, Calcutta and Simla, 1921, Vol. 1, p. 20.

⁶ Quoted from Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, Vol. I, p. 20.

⁷ Quoted from Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, Vol. I, p. 20.

It appears that images found in the region of Aṅga and other parts of Bihar are mostly composite one of Śiva with Pārvatī or Umā. In this connection, it is important to note that in the later Vedic texts Rudra is associated with a female named 'Ambikā'.¹ In the *Rg.* and the *Atharvaveda* there is no other male deity so exclusively associated with a female deity.² In the early Indus Valley religion also, as in other ancient civilizations, the male deity (proto-type of historic Śiva) was associated with a female deity. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, Śiva and his consort are generally invoked together.³ It seems that Tantricism modified the original idea of worship and led to the introduction of combined images of Śiva with his female energy. These images throw a flood of light on Śaivism in Aṅga and other parts of Bihar. The abundance of composite images of Śiva and Pārvatī indicates Śaivites worshipped Śiva in Tantric form, the characteristic of which was the popularisation of Śakti worship.

Images of the period also reveal that Śiva and Pārvatī were also worshipped in the composite form known as Ardhanārīśvara. One half of such an image represents Śiva and other Pārvatī or Umā. Śiva has plaited hair, a crescent and a trident, while Umā is shown to have parted hair. The *Skanda Purāṇa*⁴ mentions that on one occasion Parvati asked Śiva, "Let me reside with you all the while embracing you limb by limb". Thus the form of Śiva became androgynous and in course of time that composite form of Śiva became an object of worship. Śiva was also worshipped in the form of Hari-hara, a comparative image of Śiva and Viṣṇu. In the *Matsya-Purāṇa*⁵, there is reference to a composite image of Viṣṇu and Śiva. One half of such an image represents Śiva with trident and the other Viṣṇu with wheel. The *Liṅga-Purāṇa*⁶ narrates a story that Viṣṇu had been to the Daruvana in the guise of a woman and then they became one. However, this shows that Śaivism was very intimate with Vaisnavism and the spirit of mutual respect of each other's deity led to the evolution of the

¹ *Vajasaneyi Samhita*, III, 57; *Tait-Br.*, I, 6, 10, 4-5.

² Yaduvansi. *Śaivamat*, p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-66.

⁴ 47, 54.

⁵ Ch. 260.

⁶ *Purvardha Adh.*, 96.

concept of a joint deity like Hari-hara, to be worshipped by both the sects.

Discoveries of a large number of Śiva-līṅgas in Aṅga and other parts of Bihar remind us also of the phallic cult in Śaivism. Mandāra Hill still abounds with several Śiva-līṅgas. Mohenjodaro discoveries¹ have thrown considerable light on the early prevalence of the cult of the līṅga and Yoni and this read with reference to Śiṣṇadevas or the worshippers of Phallus in the *R̥gveda*, becomes all the more significant. The *Purāṇas* and the *Epics* have preserved many traditional accounts regarding the līṅga cult. From these stories, it is gathered that they all were connected with sex, and thus this cult was taken up more enthusiastically and given mystical significance by the Tantrikas. However, the līṅga had attained a conventional form during the period under review and was worshipped by the people of Aṅga like other parts of India. Temples were constructed in which the Lingas were installed, and even today such kinds of worship are performed on a large scale. Thus, it is clear that Śaivism had been fully developed, and Śivas's images and various symbols were objects of worship in the region of Aṅga, like other parts of Eastern India.

(C) *Śakti Worship* : The worship of Śakti was no less popular. She was supposed to give Siddhis. The worshippers of Śakti called Śāktas, worshipped the goddess in many forms as Śiva was worshipped in many forms by Saivas. In the early Vedic period the female deities are generally honoured and referred to as consorts of the male deities. But when Vedic Rudra was absorbed in the pre-Aryan male deity, who was also three-faced, Paśupati and Yogi with Urdhvalinga, the mother goddess cult was also taken over, and she became the consort of Śiva and was known as Ambikā, Rudrānī, Bhavānī, Durgā, Kātyāyanī and Umā. But, because of her free-Aryan origin, the goddess, in spite of being the partner of Śiva, also continued to be an independent deity. In spare images, she was worshipped in both her destructive and benevolent forms. The worship of Umā as a consort of Śiva became a dominant feature of Purāṇic Śaivism. This worship of the

¹ Marshall, J.: *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, London, 1931.

mother-goddess as the most powerful deity lies at the root of Tantricism, and consorts of other gods also came to be worshipped. The archaeological discoveries of Images of Pārvatī and Durgā in Āṅga and other parts of Bihar, corroborate the above mentioned facts.

Mythologically, Pārvatī, also known as Gaurī or Umā, was the second wife of Śiva after the demise of his first wife Sati. Therefore, the image of Pārvatī or Gaurī or Umā is generally the same as described in connection with Umā-Mahesvara or Hara-Gaurī. Wherever she is depicted alone, she has her usual symbol, i.e., a mirror and a trident in place of a lotus. In sculptures, as also in the literature of the period, three stages of Pārvatī or Gaurī's life have been depicted. The images in which Gaurī is depicted as standing on one leg show her girlhood penances.¹ The images in which Gaurī is represented as holding her child Kartikeya on her lap show a typical motherhood. Pārvatī or Durgā is represented in images as having ten or more arms equipped with various weapons. As Mahisāsūramardanī. She is shown standing on a lion and engaged in slaying the buffalo demon, Mahisāsura. One of her hands is hurling a spear at the chest of the demon.

The Tantric form of worship was very much developed during the period under review. The independent worship of Śakti led to the development of its independent religious literature known as Tantra. She began to be worshipped as having numerous hands and terrible forms and has the highest of all the deities. Another form of the mother-goddess cult which became popular was the worship of the mother-goddess with a child. Three such images have been found at the village of Valgudar between Luckheesarai and Mouhath in Monghyr District² (a region of early Āṅga). Such an image is also found at the village Rajauna near Valgudar though the deity is called Pundeśvarī according to the inscription.³ Sircar⁴ rightly holds that this type of deity was popular with the rural people and was apparently not unconnected

¹ Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, I, p. 36.

² *E.I.*, XXVIII, p. 137.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

with the conception of Pārvatī with Skanda on her lap and also that of the Buddhist Hārīti.

Jainism :

In the history of Jainism, Aṅga played a very significant part for centuries. It was a well-marked natural region which is frequently referred to in the Jaina texts. Māhāvira, the twenty-fourth Tirthankara of the Jainas, and commonly spoken of as "the founder of the Jaina church", was a scion of the noble family of Vaisali where he was born and spent the early part of his life. It was through the ruling dynasty of Vaisali or the Lichchavis that Māhāvira got solid support from all directions in his early days, and "it was through them that the religion of Māhāvira had spread over Aṅga, Sauvira, Vatsa, Avanti, Videha, and Magadha, all of which were the most powerful kingdoms of the time.¹ Though, he spent the better part of his life as a religious teacher in Magadha, he had many associations in Aṅga. It is said that Aṅga, like other parts of eastern India was the scene of wanderings of Māhāvira and the activities of his Nirgrantha followers in the life time of the Buddha.

Campā, the capital of Aṅga² (modern Bhagalpur), was an important centre of Jaina activities where Māhāvira spent three rainy seasons, and Basupujya, the twelfth Tirthankara attained his nirvana at Campāpura.³ The *Therīgāthā* narrates that a Jaina bhikkhuni named Bhadda took ordination in the Buddhāsana and in course of her journey went to Aṅga.⁴ Candanabālā, the daughter of Dadhiyāhana, was the first female to embrace Jainism shortly after Māhāvira attained the Kevaliship in 556 B.C. Besides there are signs of old and new Jaina temples of both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara sects built for Vasupūjya and other Tirthankaras.⁵ We are told in the *Uvāsagadasāo* and the *Antagadadasāo* that there was a temple called Punnabhadda at Campā in the time

¹ Shah, C.J. : *Jainism in North Bihar*, p. 99; Dey, *Notes on Ancient Aṅga*, p. 322; also cf. Thakur, U, p. 96.

² Thakur, U. : *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithila*, 1964, p. 83.

³ cf. *Ibid.*, p. 83 and 95.

⁴ *Therīgāthā*, PTS, p. 134.

⁵ Dey, GDAMI, pp. 44—55; also cf. Thakur, U. : *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithila*, pp. 95-96.

of Sudharman, one of the eleven disciples of Māhāvira, who succeeded him as the head of the Jaina sect after his death¹ It is said that the town was visited by Sudharman at the time of Kuṇika Ajātaśatru who went there bare-footed to see the Gaṇadhāra outside the city which was again visited by Sudharman's successors.² We are also told that Māhāvira died either at Pāvāpurī in the modern Nālandā district or at Campā near Bhagalpur.³

Besides, in the ancient Aṅga we have a few Jaina antiquities. Mandāra Hill is supposed to be one of the sacred places of the Jainas also. It was here that Vasupūjyanātha, the twelfth Tirthaṅkara attained his nirvāṇa. The top of this hill is a great object of veneration for the Jaina community. The structure is said to have belonged to Śrāvakas or Jainas and one of the rooms still contains a carana. A few other Jaina relics were also found on the top of the hill.⁴ Next important antiquity of Aṅga is Pūrṇabhadra Caitya, and it is said that this Caitya was in the Udyāna or park, called Āmraśālavana, situated to the north-east of the city of Campā.⁵ It was very old in age, recognised by the people of the ancient, famous, praised everywhere, and Jnata.⁶ It was decorated with an umbrella, banners, bells, flags, atipatakās (flags surmounted on flags), whisks or brushes of peacock-feathers and having a railing.....It was sprinkled all over with perfumed water, and garlands were hung; it was odorous with flowers of five colours, and with burning since incense of Kālāguru Kundurukka and turukka.....It was haunted by actors, dancers, experts in mimics (Viḍambaka), ballad-singers,.....lute-players and minstrels. Many people visited the shrine which deserved prise offerings, worship with Sandal-paste etc; gifts, adoration and

¹ Hoernle, II, p. 2; also cf. Thakur, U. : *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithilā*, p. 96.

² Shah, C.J. : *Jainism in North Bihar*, pp. 94-95; also cf. Thakur, *op. cit.* p. 96.

³ ASI, Report, 1903-1904, p. 87.

⁴ Beglar, ASI, Vol. III; Kuraishi, *Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa*. (Section on Bhagalpur).

⁵ Thakur, U. : *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithilā*, p. 101.

⁶ For interpretation of the word 'Jnata' see, Thakur, U. *Ibid.* fn. 3 of p. 101.

respectIt deserved a gift of a share from sacrifices.....on all sides of it was a big forest-grove (Vanakhaṇḍa) with a central big Aśoka tree (a Caitya Vṛkṣa) with a Pṛthvī-śīla-pāṭṭa under it attached to its stem.¹ Karnaḡarh hill near Bhagalpur also contains numerous ancient Jaina relics. We have reference to a Jaina Vihāra to the north of the ancient fort.²

It is difficult, however, to exactly determine the hold of Māhāvira's teachings and his religion over the people of Aṅga. However, it seems certain, in the light of available references that Māhāvira had a better hearing in Aṅga than other parts of India. Even today unlike Buddhism, Jainism is not extinct in the land of its birth. Perhaps, there are specific reasons which saved it from extinction in Bihar.

The reason has been very well ascertained by Stevenson. She says that "It has never cut itself off from the faith that surrounded it. Jains always employed Brāhmaṇas as their domestic chaplains, who presided at birth rites and often acted as officials at death and marriage ceremonies and temple worship. So when the storm of persecution by the Mohammedans swept Bihar, Jainism simply took refuge in Hinduism, which opened its capacious bosom to receive it".³ Jainism compromised with Hindu caste practices and winked at the worship of some Hindu deities like Ganesa.⁴ Rishabhadeva the first Tirthaṅkara is regarded as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu.⁵ Thus, from the above discussion, it is clear that Jainism with all its schisms and divisions was a living force in Aṅga during the period under review.

Buddhism :

The rise of Buddhism is said to have marked a new age not only in the history of India, but also in the history of the world. It was remarkable for the spiritual unrest and intellectual ferment in many countries. We had Lao Tzu and Confucius in China;

¹ For details, see Shah, U. P. : *Studies in Jaina Art*, (Section on Caitya-Vṛkṣas) ; also cf. Thakur, U, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

² Thakur, U. : *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithilā*, p. 103.

³ Stevenson, S. (Mrs.) : *The Heart of Jainism*, 1915, p. 18.

⁴ *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, p. 49.

⁵ *Bhagavata Purāna*, quoted in the *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, p. 134.

Permerids and Empedocles in Greece; Zarathustra in Iran and Māhāvira and the Buddha in India, who worked upon their inheritance, developed new points of view and announced new religion and philosophy which marked a turning point in the history of human civilization and thought.

Like other great teachers and reformers of the age, Buddha also utilised the Hindu inheritance to correct some of its expression. The extremely rigid forms of religious sacrifices and ceremonies of the Brāhmanic period evoked a great spiritual unrest and revolt against "formalism and exclusiveness of the Brahmanical system."¹ The reaction and protest against the sacrifices paved the way for the coming of a new religious order, i.e. Buddhism during the period under review. Naturally, with the advent of the Buddha and Buddhism, the Brāhmanical religion or the religion of the Veda, was, for the time being, pushed into oblivion and confined to a small section of the people. In the other words we may say that Brāhmanism had by now become "an island in a sea",² and people followed the new order, i.e. Buddhism.

Like Jainism, Buddhism was also associated with Aṅga from its earliest beginnings. We have references to Buddhist remains and antiquities which have been found in the region of Aṅga. In Sultanganj, in the district of Bhagalpur, Buddhist remains have been discovered. There is a mass of granite towering abruptly to the height of about a hundred feet from the bed of the river Gaṅgā, known as Jaugirah, surmounted by a small stone temple of the deity Gaibinātha, a form of Śiva. The face of the rock is covered by a number of Bassi-relievi, most of which are Hindu and include representations of Ganesa, Hanumana, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, Vāmana, Ananta Sleeping on a snake, Śiva and other Purāṇic deities. But there are a few which are decidedly of Buddhist origin. The Buddhist figures, mostly Buddha in the meditative posture, occupy more central positions than the Hindu ones and appear to be more worn away than the latter;

¹ Rapson : *Ancient India*, p. 63; Thakur, U. : *op. cit.*, p. 97; Pande, G.C. *The Origins of Buddhism*, p. 309.

² Rhys Davids, T.W. : *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, pp. 155-156.

both circumstances affording conclusive evidence of the place having been originally a Buddhist sanctuary which the Brāhmanas have propitiated to themselves since the downfall of the Buddhism.¹

Of the relics collected by Harris, in course of his excavations at this place, the most important appears to be a colossal figure of the Buddha (now in the Birmingham museum) which was found lying on a side of the hall. The statue weighing nearly one ton is of copper. The figure stands in abhayadāna mudrā. Besides, the articles numbering more than fiftyfour discovered at this place—unmistakably point to the building being a large number Buddhist monastery or Vihāra such as existed at Sārnātha, Sāñchi, Bodhgaya, Manikyāla and other places.² We are further told that “The inscription on the minor figures, in the Gupta character of the third and fourth century, show that the Vihāra with its chief laies and penates has been established a considerable period before that time, probably at the beginning of the Christian era or even earlier, for Campā (modern Bhagalpur), the capital of Anga, was a place of great antiquity and the Buddhist took possession of it very early as the capital of Eastern India and established many, Vihāras and Caityas in and about it”.³ These structure are models or miniature representations in the Buddhist scriptures which recommend the dedication of such monuments as an act of great religious merit. Hence, they have engaged the earnest attention of the followers of Gautama from an early age, and many are the ruins in India which now attest the lavish expenditure which some of its former kings and princes incurred in raising them in a manner worthy of their ambition.⁴

Recently a rare image of Avilokiteśvara Buddha in black stone bearing an inscription, was discovered in Lakhisarai (Monghyr District).⁵ Avilokiteśvara is all compassionate Bodhisattva. It looms large in the varied pantheon of Northern Buddhists, as a Bodhisattva is said to have emanated from the divine Buddha.

¹ Thakur, U. : *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithila*, pp. 137-38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

³ *JASB*, XXXIII (1864), p. 369.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

⁵ G.D. College Bulletin Series No. 2, p. 22.

Iconographically, the image is rare as it is one faced and a-seated. Thus, these stray finds at different places in the locality, clearly indicate a strong bearing on the Buddhist cult in Aṅga.

It seems from the available references of the period that Buddha had a great hold over Aṅga, like other parts of Bihar. Buddha resided at Bhadelia or Bhadaria, 8 miles to the south of Bhagalpur for three months and converted Bhaddaji, son of a very rich merchant.¹ It was the birth-place of the celebrated Visakha who became the chief of the lay disciples of Buddha. She was the daughter of Dhananjaya and grand-daughter of Mendaka, both of whom were treasurers to the king of Aṅga.² It was at Campā that the Buddha was compelled to prescribe the use of slippers by the bhikkhus.³ We know on the authority of the *Majjhima Nikāya*⁴ that the Aṅga rāja was very charitable and he daily used to give alms to the bhikkhus to the value of 500 kahapanas. The *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* tells us that a bhikku named Kassapajotta was ex-communicated by some other bhikkus as he was unable to supply food to the stranger bhikkus. He went to the Buddha who was at Campā, the capital of Aṅga, and related the matter to him. The Buddha told him that their act of ex-communication was very justified. The Bhikkhus, who had ex-communicated him, went to Buddha who told him that they were not justified in communicating Kassapayotta.⁵

We are further told in the same work that the bhikkhus of Campā were in the habit of performing some acts which were contrary to the rules of *Vinaya* e.g. excommunicating a particular bhikkhu or two bhikkhus or more.⁶ It is said that Śonakolivisa who was son of a setthi of Campā, was directed by Bimbisāra, king of Aṅga, to see Buddha along with other setthis. Accordingly they went to the Buddha who preached dhamma to them. Śonakolivisa after listening to his preachings became so pleased that

Mahapanada Ja., II, 229; *Mahāvagga* V.8.; VI, 34.

Mahāvagga, VI, 12, 13, 34, 50.

Vinaya, I. p. 179.

II, p. 163.

Oldenberg, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. I, pp. 312—315.

Ibid., p. 315.

he accepted ordination from him.¹

The *Dīgha Nikāya* of the *Sutta Pitaka* further informs us that the Blessed one was adjourning amongst the Aṅgas and went to Campā and took his abode in a Vihāra on the bank of the tank Gaggara. A Brāhmaṇa named Soṇadaṇḍa, who was a great influential teacher, went to the Buddha with other Brāhmaṇa householders of Campā. Buddha asked him about the qualities of a true Brāhmaṇa. Soṇadaṇḍa replied, "one is a true Brāhmaṇa who is pure in birth and who is a teacher, vastly learned in mantra and well versed in three Vedas with their branches, who is beautiful, virtuous, intelligent and well-read". The Buddha said that he was the possessor of all the qualities of a true Brāhmaṇa and was not in any way inferior to a Brāhmaṇa. Soṇadaṇḍa afterwards became a devotee of the Buddha.² We are told in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, that the Buddha was once dwelling among the Aṅga in a city named Assapura in the kingdom of Aṅga. He preached the *Mahaassapurasuttanta* to the bhikkhus, which preaches virtues which make one a true *samana* and a true Brāhmaṇa.³ On other occasion Buddha with large assembly of bhikkhus was adjourning in a Vihāra near the tank Gaggara in Campā. Pessa, son of an elephant trainer and Kaṇḍaraka, a parivrjaka, went to the Buddha. Kaṇḍaraka told the Buddha that his pupils were well trained. The Buddha approved of his saying. Pessa said to the Buddha thus, "His preaching of the four satipatthanas is sufficient for purity of human beings, destruction of suffering and realisation of nibhāṇam".⁴

The *Saṃjutta Nikāya* informs us that the Blessed one was dwelling in a Vihāra near the tank Gaggara in Campā and with him there were 500 bhikkus, 700 upāsakas, and many gods. Vaṅgi-sa, who was one of the famous disciples of the Buddha and also a great poet, uttered a stanza in praise of the Buddha.⁵ The Buddha while he was among the Aṅgas in the town of Āpana, asked Sāri-

¹ Oldenberg, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. I, p. 179.

² *DN.*, I, pp. 111—126.

³ *MN.*, I, 271.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 339.

⁵ *SN.*, Pt. I, pp. 195-196.

putta thus, "can a noble disciple who is very much pleased and devoted to the Tathāgata cherish any doubt about him or his doctrine". Sāriputta answered in the negative.¹

We are told in the *Aṅguta Nikāya* that while the Buddha was staying in Campā, one day many upāsakas of Campā went to Sāriputta and requested him to induce the Buddha to deliver a sermon to them as they did not hear him for a long time. They as advised by Sāriputta came to the Buddha who preached a sermon to them on dāna (charity).² It is further said that when the Buddha was there, an upāsaka named Bāhuna went to him and asked him about the dhamma to which the Buddha was not attached. The Buddha replied that the Tathāgata was detached from rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra, jāti, jarā, dukkha, and kilesa.³

We know from the *Theragāṭha* that Śoṇa, who was the foremost of all in the kingdom of Aṅga, put an end to all sufferings.⁴ Jambugānika was the son of the chief of the village of Campā. While he was a novice, he used to dwell at Sāketa. His father tested him by giving a verse to explain, whether he would stick to the order or not. After reading the verse he acquired sixfold *abhiññā* and subsequently attained arahatship.⁵ Nandaka was born in the family of a burgess at Campā. He and his younger brother became bhikkhus when they heard that Sonakolivisa who was so delicate in body became a bhikkhu. They afterwards acquired sixfold *abhiññā* and attained saintship.⁶ Many sons of householders of Aṅga and Magadha followed the Buddha in the course of his journey from Rājagaha to Kapilvastu. They all were his disciples.⁷

It is said that when the people of Aṅga, Magadha and Kuru country came with a large quantity of offerings to worship Aggidatta, they found Aggidatta and his disciples seated there in the garb of bhikkhus along with the Buddha. They were under the

¹ SN., Pt. V, pp. 225-226.

² AN., Pt. IV, p. 59.

³ Ibid., Pt. V, pp. 151-152.

⁴ *Theragāṭha*, PTS., p. 65.

⁵ *Psalms of the Brethren*, pp. 32-33.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 134-136.

⁷ Ja., Vol. I, *Nidanakatha*, p. 87.

impression that Aggidatta made the Buddha a bhikkhu. In their presence Aggidatta worshipped the Buddha and declared himself to be his pupil.¹

Thus, the above references clearly indicate that the Buddha had a large number of disciples in the Aṅga and that his position was very high among the people of Aṅga during the period under review. The above references further indicate that the Buddha made frequent excursions to Campā and resided on the bank of the Gaggaiā lake. In other words, we can safely say that like Brāhmanism and Jainism, Buddhism had also a wide influence on the religious life of the people of early Aṅga, like other parts of North-Eastern India.

(C) ECONOMY

In the field of Economic activities, Aṅga has played a very important role since remote past. Hence the period under review witnessed striking development in industries, trade and commerce. The subject is studied under the following heads :—Industries; Guild organisation, Trade and Commerce, Revenue system, and Medium of exchange.

Industries :

India has been famous for its crafts and industries since ancient times. It is evident from literary archaeological references that these industries continued to prosper throughout the country and hence Aṅga was no exception to it. Heavy demand for textile goods by the people of the period was responsible for the growth of textile industry in Aṅga like other parts of the country. There are references to the various textile fabrics such as linen (*Khoman*), cotton (*Kappasikam*) silk (*Kosseyam*), wool (*Kambalam*), and hemp (*Sanam*), out of which threads were spun and woven into cloth of various varieties and qualities. We are told in the Buddhist literature about weavers (*Pesakara*),² the loom (*Tanta*),³ weaving appli-

¹ *Dhammapada Comentary*, III. pp. 246-247.

² *SBE*, XIII, 28; *DN*. I, 51; *Jā*. IV, 475.

³ *Jā*. I, 356.

ances (*tantabhandā*),¹ the place of weaving (*tantavitaathanam*),² and so on. These instances clearly indicate that weaving was fairly common in Anga. Besides, there are sculptures of the period which suggest that the spinner and weaver of Anga could produce semi-transparent silk and muslins of extreme fineness.

Sugar industry was another notable feature of the economic life of the people. It seems to have been the chief and oldest industry of Anga, since the land and soil of the region were quite pertinent for its cultivation. The Buddhist literature tells us that the sick Bhikkhus were allowed to eat sugar, and the healthy ones were permitted to drink it.³ As we have noted earlier, Anga was a stronghold of the Buddhists, it is therefore, natural to presume that sugar industry might have been in the flourishing state due to consumption of sugar and its juice by the Buddhist monks and general people of the period. From the *Padma Purāṇa*⁴ we know that they also used a machine by which sugarcane were crushed and a kind of liquid prepared from it.⁵

Oil industry occupied an equally important place. It was probably carried on by private persons, individually, or on corporate basis. Oil was generally extracted from the mustard seed, the linseed, the sesamum, and the ingudi. Amongst them 'edible oil' was taken out from sesamum, while the oil for lighting lamps, curing boils and for hair was extracted from *ingudi*. It appears that scent and perfumes were also prepared through machine, by mixing Camphor in the oil. This industry can even now be seen in the villages of those parts of the country which formed parts of early Anga.

Industry based on ivory articles was quite flourishing in Anga. Ivory were obtained by the ivory-workers from those parts and places of the countries, where elephant was found in abundance. Buddhist literature tells us that the ivory-workers were experts in

¹ *Vinaya*, II, 135.

² *Jā.*, I, 356.

³ *Mv.*, VI, p. 27.

⁴ *III: Parva: sl. 234; p. 48.*

⁵ *Padma Purāṇa*, IV, Parva, sl. 16.

their handicraft and carved out any shape out of ivory.¹ Thus, from ivory various articles like bangles, trinkets, ornaments, handles for mirrors and inlaying of royal chariots were prepared.²

Metal industry was no less important during the period under review. We are told that metals like iron, copper, silver, gold and bronze etc., were utilised in preparing the objects of different kinds.³ Since the people of the period were mostly agriculturists, for the manufacture and repair of agricultural implements the services of blacksmiths were indispensable. The archaeological finds have proved that apart from agricultural implements, blacksmiths manufactured other articles of general use like axes, & weapons of war, such as arrow-heads, spear-heads, swords and knives. We learn from the *Agni-Purāṇa*,⁴ that Aṅga (Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts) was one of the five centres for manufacturing swords in India. Besides, many other objects like bangles, rings, hair ornaments and utensils of iron have also been found in the region of Aṅga.

Metal-workers also practised the art of bronze and copper casting with considerable skill. The art of bronze and copper casting is very ancient in our country.⁵ The discovery of bronze and copper images at Sultanganj (Bhagalpur) and other parts of Bihar points to highly developed bronze and copper industries in the region of Aṅga. Fashioning images in bronze or *Ashṭadhātu* appears to have been a prosperous industry. A remarkable copper statue of the Buddha discovered at Sultanganj and at present preserved in the Birmingham Museum, is symbolic of the metallurgical and artistic skill of the people of Aṅga. Besides, many small standing Buddha figures of copper were also found near it. The presence of lumps of copper Ore suggests that the melting and casting operations were done on the spot.⁶

¹ *Dn.*, I, 78; *Mn.* II, 18.

² *Jā.*, II, 197; V, 302; VI, 223.

³ *Dn.*, II, 351; *An.* III, 16; *Jā.*, II, 296.

⁴ *Agn.* ccxlv, p. 886.

⁵ Marshall, *Mohejo-Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation*, I, pp. 30-37.

⁶ Neogi, *Copper in Ancient India*, p. 21; Smith; *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, pp. 171-72.

The art of making jewellery must have been very flourishing and given considerable employment to a large number of people. The literature and sculpture of this period show that a large variety of ornaments were used by men and women of Āṅga, like other parts of India. It appears that ornaments were made of gold, silver, copper, bronze, and precious stones etc. We have mention of *Pattika*, *Muddika* (ring), *Vallika* or *Kundala* (ear-ring), *Kayuma* (necklace), *Ovattika* (bangles), and *Mekhala* (waist-band) etc.¹ All these indicate a vigorous and flourishing condition of jeweller's art of the period. Bead-making industry was also very flourishing in Āṅga. Flourishing state of these two industries is corroborated by the recent archaeological excavations at Campānagar done by Patna University. Excavation has yielded a large number of beads of semi-precious stones in various manufacturing stages and stone moulds for making gold and silver ornaments.²

That the pottery industry was well-developed in Āṅga during the period is abundantly clear from the large number of potteries of different types and varieties, such as cooking utensils, dishes, cups, saucers, ink-pots, lamps of various designs and toys etc., which have been unearthed during the course of archaeological excavations in this area and other parts of Bihar. We are told in the *Jātākas* that there were potters villages, where various types of bowls, jars, and vessels of all types were made.³ Naulagarh have yielded a large number of N.B.P. glazed and grey pottery pieces, and various kinds of terracottas.⁴ Potters were skilled not only in moulding different shapes of pottery but also in baking and colouring. Most of the pottery was wheel-made, but hand-made toys, or figurines are found as well. These supply us positive proof of the flourishing state of pottery industry during the period under review.

References in the literature of the period show that cane and leaf industry was also very important in Āṅga. The workers in cane, bamboo, and leaf were known as the *Nalakanas*, *Venukanas*,

¹ *Cv.* 2. 1; *Mn.* III, 243; *An.* III, 16; *Acaraṅgasūtra*, II. 2. I. 11.

² Materials were exhibited at Patna Museum during the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of Independence from 25.8.1972 to 31.8.1972.

³ *Jā.* III, 368, 376, 385, 508; V, 291.

⁴ For details see *G.D. College Bulletin Series*, Nos. 1-2.

and *Vetukanas*. They made lutes, baskets, ropes and mats, palm-leaf fans and leaf sun-shades in large numbers.¹ But owing to their perishable nature, very few specimens of wood-carving of this period have come down to us.

Dyeing and embroiding industry has its own place during this period. The art of dyeing was in vogue since remote past and it was an important occupation in Aṅga during our period. There is a reference to *Rajaka* (dye²), who performed the work of dyeing after having washed the cloth. Dyes were made with blue, yellow, red and saffron colours.³ Besides these, dyes were also made in the colours of white, dark-blue, brown, yellow, golden, silvery, and black. It appears that rich persons usually made embroidery on their clothes so that they could look attractive and beautiful. Embroidery was generally made on fine musline and other costly clothes

Guild Organisation :

It is evident from the foregoing accounts that a large number of industries were in a flourishing state during the period under review. Formation of guilds put these industries on a sound and economic footing. The reason behind promoting corporate activities in the economic life was the localisation of trade and industry in the post-vedic period and later. From the *Jātakas* and some other early Buddhist sources we get information about the localised guilds of the industrialists and traders, such as of *dantakāras*, *rajakas*, *pesakāras*, *kumbhakāra*, *tantukāra*, *kammakara*, *vaḍḍhakī*⁴ etc. Rise in the volume of trade needed an organised and planned production and quick distribution, for which an efficient system of financing was essential. This gave the rise of a class known as *seṭṭhis*, who controlled the financing of trade on individual as well as on partnership basis. Such *Seṭṭhis*, while working as a joint stock company not only contributed to business by hired out their goods

¹ cf. *Jā.* IV, 251, 318; III, 79, 283; V, 291-292.

² *Dn.* I, 51.

³ *Mn.* I, 36.

⁴ Bose, A. N. : *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, pp. 233-234; *Pre-Buddhist India*, pp. 213-214.

to the enterprising people for a share of profit.¹ This practice of starting business by taking merchandise on loan and living on the surplus profits was very popular in our days.² Besides that, the guild arose out of the necessity of financing trade and industry and their existence was found useful to safeguard the commercial conventions, known as *Samaya* and *Śrenidharma*.³

There were more than one type of guilds in ancient India. We find mention of eighteen types of guilds and sub guilds,⁴ a few of which like, *śreṇī*, *nigama*, *pūga* were especially recognised as trade-guilds. These guilds acted as custodians of the commercial conventions and customs.

The guilds were managed by a head called variously as *Pamukha*, *Jatibaka* or *Setthi*.⁵ It is difficult to state their mode of election and functions in the present state of our knowledge. But on the basis of the meaning of the word we can infer that *Pamukha* or *Pramukha* was the head of the guild due to his wealth and influence in the society. *Jatibaka* was perhaps the oldest man of a guild, whose selection as the head was made on the basis of his age and experience. *Setthi* is a Pāli word, which means 'a treasurer, a banker, a city-man, a wealthy merchant and a foreman of a guild'.⁶ With the development of trade and industries and the cities as the centre of commerce, the activities of the *Setthi*s became centered round the cities, which gave birth to a class of a *setthi*s, better known as *nagarasetthi*s, who, though not producers, financed the production, controlled the producers and carried the wholesale trade in the market towns,⁷ such as *Campā*,⁸ *Mithilā*,⁹ *Rajagrha*,¹⁰ *Srāvastī* etc.¹¹ So far as business matter was concerned, they

¹ *Jā.*, Vol. VI, p. 69; Vol. IV, p. 256.

² *Dīghā*, II, p. 69.

³ *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, II, 2, 20-21; *Maṃu.*, VIII, 41.

⁴ *Majumdar, R.C. : Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 3; *Local Self-Government in Ancient India*, p. 48; *Jā.* Vol. VI, p. 22.

Local Self-Government in Ancient India, p. 76; *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 33.

⁶ *Pāli-English Dictionary*, PTS., pp. 2-3.

⁷ *Jā.*, Vol. I, p. 478; Vol. II, pp. 225—287.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 43, 331, 344, 364.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 12, 466; Vol. IV, p. 37.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 366, 432, 501; Vol. II, 224; Vol. III, p. 299.

were the stockists of the products of the provinces,¹ brought to cities in caravans where these products had ready sale.

Though normally a *seṭṭhi* was selected from among the local merchants, in special circumstances a merchant from outside could also be called and appointed to the post. We are told in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* that prince Prasenajit of Kośala requested Bimbisara of Magdha to send him a *seṭṭhi* for appointment as *nagaraseṭṭhi* of Sāketa. Bimbisara sent Dhanañjaya of Bhaddiya in Aṅga to the king of Kośala for this purpose.²

The functions of *seṭṭhi* are difficult to define with certainty for want of authentic information. It is, however, almost certain that the *seṭṭhi* had an office (*thana*³), where he attended to his business in his dual capacity on an officer of the state and of an individual trader. In official capacity he had to attend on the king⁴ daily, sometimes thrice.⁵ In his capacity of a trader he often conducted *sarṭhas*,⁶ transacted business in the city, granted interviews to dealers of different commodities,⁷ held large landed property,⁸ boarded wealth in gold and in coins,⁹ stocked huge quantity of grains in granary and financed¹⁰ local trade and industry.¹¹ He had a great reputation in the society and was respected and honoured by the king, citizens and the people of villages.¹² People held him in greater estimation than the nobles and the princes and he had also to discharge some social and civic duties.

The guilds performed multifarious works for their organisations, as well as for society as a whole. Among other things, the

¹ *Jā.*, Vol. I, pp. 377, 451.

² *An*, I, 7, 2.

³ Mehta, R.L. : *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 219.

⁴ *Jā.*, Vol. I, pp. 120, 269, 349; Vol. III, pp. 119, 299,

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 475.

⁶ Bose, A.N. : *Social & Rural Economy*, p. 261; *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 219.

⁷ *Apadāna*, II, p. 357; *India as described in the Early Texts of Jainism and Buddhism*, pp. 177—179.

⁸ *Jā.*, Vol. II, p. 378.

⁹ *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 345, 444, 466; II, p. 331; III, pp. 56, 129, 300.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 467.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 38.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 382.

'banking business' was an important function of guilds. It included the acceptance of deposits, managing estates and working as trustees, and granting loans. The next function of the guilds was to take contracts for work on behalf of its members, and to inspire mutual confidence among the intending members through *Kosha* and *Madhyastha*.

Thirdly, the guild performed the function of both the executive, judiciary and legislative as well. We are told in the Buddhist literature that a man may be tried by his guild.¹ According to the rules of *Vinaya Pitāka*,² the guild was entitled to arbitrate on certain occasions between its members for the ordination of the wife of any of its members. Fourthly, the guilds also performed the work of public utility in their corporate capacity. They undertook the construction of assembly houses, shelters provided with drinking water for travellers, temples, pools and gardens apparently for general use. It was the function of the guild to manufacture articles of daily use including the cotton and silk fabric and clothes. Last, but not the least, the function of guild was to issue coins for meeting the requirements of day to day exchange. According to V. A. Smith, the punch-marked coins, the earliest specimens of Indian coinage, were private issues of the guilds with the permission of the ruling power.³

From the literary references of the period we come to know that the guilds provided a system of partnership in business transaction. It was a fairly common practice in trade to have partners, either permanent,⁴ or for specified purposes. For a smaller trader, it was very helpful to transact large scale trade and specially for *Sattavahas* and the sea-farms, whose life and property was generally unsafe. Two traders from *Savatthi* became partners and went to the west with a large caravan.⁵ Similar was the case with the tra-

¹ *Mn.* I, 286; III, 48.

² *Vinaya*, IV. 226; cf. *JRAS.*, 1901, p. 865.

³ Smith, V.A. : *CCIM*, p. 133; Rapson, E.J. : *Indian Coins*, p. 3.

⁴ *Jā*, I, 404; II, 181; V. 350.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 181.

ders of Campā, Vaiśālī, Pāṭaliputra, Rajagṛha and other centres of trade. These instances show that the guilds, by providing the system of partnership made the life of commodities of the people safe. Thus, the guilds were multifunctional organisations and played a very important role in the economic life of Aṅga like other parts of India.

Trade and Commerce:

Trade and commerce constitute the most important aspects of any economically progressive state, and this was true of Aṅga also. We have reference to a class of hereditary merchants (*Vaniya*) who took active part in the commercial development of the time. Campā was a centre of trade frequented by merchants, big and small. The latter presumably used to satisfy the small demands of the locality, while the former would collect large quantities of goods from the centres of production, and send them to distant countries where they were sold at a higher price. It is evident from the *Vimānavatthu commentary*¹ that the people of Aṅga used to go to trade with many caravans full of merchandise to Sindhu-Sauvīradeśa and they had pass through a desert and once they lost their way but afterwards saved by a god, named sensaka.

Campā was connected by several routes with the important commercial centres of the country, viz Śrāvastī, Kauśāmbī, Vārānasi, Rājagṛha. Vaiśālī, Tāmraliptī. We know from the *Jātakas* that the merchants from Eastern India went with their caravans in the north-west. Probably this shows that there was trade-routes from Campā to Tāmraliptī,² Videha to Gāndhāra³ via Kashmir, Magadha to Sauvira,⁴ and Rājagṛha to Śrāvastī.⁵

There are references to sea-trade which seem to be an important part of commerce during the period under review. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* frequently refers to sea and navigation by sea-going vessels.

¹ p. 332.

² *Mahajanakā Jā., Vinaya Texts*, I, 81; *Buddhist India*, (1st Ed.), p. 103, cf. Thakur, U. ; *History of Mithila*, pp. 83-84.

³ *Gāndhara Jā.*, no. 406.

⁴ *Vimānavatthu Atthakathu*, 336.

⁵ *Su-ni*, 1012-1013.

The *Jātakas* inform us that in all great cities of Eastern India, viz., Campā, Śravāsti, Vāranasi, Rājagṛha, and Videha, there were merchants engaged in sea-horn trade and that they sailed to foreign lands for transacting business. Thus, the traders of Campā sailed to Suvarṇabhūmi (Lower Burma, Malaya and Sumatra) for trade purposes.¹ The *Niyadham makahao*,² further states that the sea-farming merchants of Campā loaded their carts with four kinds of merchandise, viz., those which could be counted (ganina), balanced (dhanina), measured (maya), and scrutinised.

Thus the above account shows that traders of Campā, Vaiśālī, Mithilā and Rājagṛha were carrying on brisk overland trade during the period under review. They established their colonies in those far off islands and founded a city in Indo-China after the name of their famous city Campā.³

It is said that the market was the centre of local inland trade. There are references to markets in Aṅga, where the traders were localised in different streets or mohallas, a practice still in vogue there. It was in these trade markets, where a portion of the village produce was sold and probably it was from here that the surplus produce was handed over to big traders and merchants who despatched it to trade-centres in other parts of the country. Inland trade was carried on both by land and river routes. But it is said that generally the latter was preferred by the merchants, for it was a better and safer means of transporting merchandise.

The articles of inland trade included all sorts of commodities for everyday use and it was obtained in the shape of exports and imports of different regions. Thus, Aṅga exported rice, wheat, pulses, oil, tobacco, silk, elephant, lime stone, mixed woollen and cotton clothes etc. to different parts of Bihar in India. On the other hand Aṅga imported jute, mica, paper, cotton, clothes, herbs, oil and wax etc. Moreover, it appears that these articles

¹ *Mahājanaka Jā.*, 539.

² VII., p. 98.

³ *Homage*, p. 20; also cf. *History of Mithila*, pp. 84-85.

found favour in all India markets, from where the caravan traders after purchasing the required merchandise travelled to the sea-ports with a view to exporting them to foreign land.

Unlike the traders of other parts of India, the traders of Aṅga did not rest with sending their cargoes to the markets of west, central Asia and south-East Asia. Though the evidence in this field is meagre, even then it may be inferred that the commercial link with the above countries was always continued in varying degree. Foreign trade, like the inland one, was carried on both by land and sea-routes. Moreover, it seems that the later was always precarious and life was never safe. We are told in the *Jātaka* stories about a number of ship wreck which was a common catastrophe.¹ Similar was the case with land routes to foreign countries which was unsafe for the caravan merchants, who passed many a wilderness manifested by robbers, demons, lions, and other wild beasts. In spite of these dangers and hardships the people of Aṅga choose the profession of trade and both the sea and land routes were utilised by the merchants during our period.

Aṅga generally exported its native products. It included the articles such as precious woods, silk, cotton clothes, lime stone, guns, cloves, sesame, indigo, opium, sugar-cane, rice, millet etc. on the other hand its imports consisted chiefly of tin, lead, glass, steel, coral, need, pearls, and purple. Thus, it seems that foreign trade was encouraged to a great extent during the period.

Revenue System :

The theory that the king was entitled to receive revenue from the subject in return for his protection was deep into the economic thinking of Aṅga during the period under review. But it is difficult to ascertain how far this power was judicially utilised. However, it appears that Hindu theory of taxation, more or less corresponds with the canons of Adam Smith which runs as follows, "Every subject ought to contribute the revenue a sum proportionate to the income which he enjoys under the protection of the state and that every tax ought to be paid in time, or in the manner,

¹ *Ja.*, II, 103; III, 26; V, 75.

in which it is most convenient for the contributor to pay it".¹ He further adds that it should also be "so continued as both to take out and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible, over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the state."² Similarly John Stuart Mill has opined that the guiding principle should be that of apportioning the contribution of each person towards the expenses of the Government as that he should feel neither more nor less inconvenienced from his share of the payments.³

It appears from literary sources that state drew revenue from various sources. But the revenue from land has been an important source of income to the state in all ages and in almost every country. The finances of Aṅga also seem to have depended a great deal upon this source of income.

For the purpose of the collection of land revenue there appears to have existed a systematic survey of land of which we find numerous references in the texts of the period. We are told in the *Kana Jātaka*⁴ that when the royal officers came to the village to measure the fields, the *Seṭṭhi* asked the prince, who after renouncing his claim to the throne in favour of his younger brother, had come to live with the farmer's family, to write to the king for remission of *bali*. Ghoshal⁵ points out that in this case the measurement of land is immediately associated with *bali* assessment, and this implies the prevalence of a standard or average rate of the government demand for a known unit area, which could be applied for assessment of the individual holdings. The *Kurudhamma Jātaka*⁶ refers to the pious hesitation of the *rajjika ammacca* (surveyor) that the king will be loser if the stick of the measuring rope

¹ Smith, Adam : *The Wealth of the Nations* (5th Ed.), II, pp. 310-311.

² *Ibid.*, p. 311.

³ Mill's, *Political Economy*, (3rd Ed.), Vol. II, p. 366.

⁴ IV, p. 109.

⁵ *Agrarian system in Ancient India*, p. 25.

⁶ II, p. 376.

is pitched on this or that side of a crab hole situated just as the boundary of a field. It may suggest that the king's share was fixed after measurement. The importance of measurement for land tax assessment is further corroborated by the *Arthasāstra* when it refers to the ascertainment of total areas of the fields by numbering cultivated and uncultivated plots.¹ These instances lead us to the conclusion that the land revenue and connected charges were probably assessed upon the individual holdings as well as on the collective assessment of the village.

Among the branches of land revenue by far the most important is certain fiscal dues which denote the commonest revenue term. They are *Bali*, *Bhaga*, *Bhoga*, *Kara*, *Hiranya*, *Udakabhaga*, *Utsanga*, *Uprikara* and *sita* etc.

Bali is the oldest Indo-Aryan term for the royal revenue and it is depicted in most of the early Indian literature. But there is a great controversy regarding the exact nature of this source of income. In the *Rgveda* it is the king's due both from his subjects and from conquered kings.² Macdonnell and Keith, however, suggests that *bali* was from the very beginning of the nature of a tax not depending solely upon the freewill of the subjects. We are told in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* that *bali* is a compulsory contribution payable by the subjects.³ In the *Jātaka*, *bali* is often regarded as an oppressive and additional cases. *Bali*, thus means taxes or tributes.

Some scholars interpret *bali* in the sense of a 'religious tax'. But this interpretation is not acceptable to the literature of the period. The latter generally takes it in the sense of a "land tax". Similar is the case with the *Rajadharma* section of the

¹ *Arth*, II, 35.

² *Rv.* IV, 24, 10.

³ *Āit. Br.*, XI, 3.

Mahābhārata.¹ Asvaghosa,² also mentions 'bali' in the sense of regular land tax. At one place in the *Mahāvamśa*, the levy of *bali* is said to be very essential which may imply that it was perhaps the basic land tax.³ In the present state of our knowledge, due to conflicting interpretation of term 'bali', it is difficult to say that whether it was a 'religious tax' or a 'land tax'. However, the latter interpretation seems to be true, that is, *bali* was a regular land tax.

Bhaga is the king's customary share of the produce normally, though not universally, amounting to one-six.⁴ This interpretation is further supported by a large number of scholars like Kielhorn, R.D. Banerji, Mazumdar and Vogel etc. in some form or other. This rightful share of the king could be paid not only in kind but also in cash, as it is clearly mentioned that 1/6 part of the profit of the objects like tree etc., should be paid. The next term *Bhoga* has been defined as the periodical supply of fruits, fire-wood, flower and the like which the villagers had to furnish to the king as daily presents. Similarly, *Kara*, *Hiranya*, *Udakabhaga*, *Utaranga* and *Upanikara* and *sita* etc. have also been variously interpreted by different scholars in the different senses. However, it appears that all these fiscal terms were undoubtedly a kind of land revenue, whose exact nature cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

The above mentioned fiscal term of land revenue indicates that in ancient India, so also in Aṅga, 1/6 of the crops remained the revenue in principal for a long time, and hence the king is often addressed as *Sadabhagin*, one who takes 1/6 part of the

¹ *Sāntiparva*, 69, 24; 72, 10.

² *Buddhacarita*, II, 44.

³ *Mahāvamśa*, XXVIII, 4.

⁴ Ghosal, 'Some Hindu Fiscal Terms Discussed' Proceedings Fourth Oriental Conference, II, p. 205.

yield.¹

Apart from land revenue, there were various miscellaneous taxes and state income which seem to have been an important source of royal revenue. Among it, *śulka* is the important item of income and is referred to from the earliest time. Perhaps the earliest mention of it as a 'tax' occurs in the *Atharvaveda*.² The Buddhist literature also testified to the prevalence of *śulka* by mentioning a City Officer as fixing the toll (*śulka*) for merchants.³ In the *Divyāvadāna* reference is made to the practice of collecting duties (*śulka*) and fees payable at military and police stations and freight for merchandise.⁴ Similarly, the earlier law books have also take a *śulka* in the sense of a tax levied on trader and merchants inside the fortified towns and at the toll houses situated near the main gate of the town. *Kirpta* and *Upakirpta* were other miscellaneous taxes, which were imposed on the finished or unfinished goods of those villages which had great facilities of trade because of their situation on sea-shores or on the river banks. *Pranya* was yet another tax, which was levied by the king at the time of financial crisis and other emergencies. *Viṣṭi* was a common tax in the form of physical labour; *utsaṅga* is presents or royalties from villages as well as towns. It was customary for the king to receive presents which were brought to the king on the occasion of his coronation or even when approaching him with a petition.⁵ We are told in the *Mahābhārata*⁶ that people made voluntary contributions to the king performing sacrifices for public welfare. Thus, *utsaṅga* appears to have been a tax collected only occasionally.

From the above it would be seen that the principal source of

¹ Ghosal, *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, p. 23; *Arth.* II, 15; *Sāntiparva*, 69, 24, 72, 10.

² *Av.* III, 29, 3.

³ *Jā.*, IV, p. 132.

⁴ *Divyavadāna*, III, 5, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ XIII. 61, 24.

revenue in Aṅga like other parts of India, was land. But, there were other recognised sources of income too, which in their turn characterized the taxes paid to the state and hence it may be said that no branch of villager's income was to escape the rigorous and all pervasive fiscal system of the period.

Medium of Exchange:

The history of exchange goes back to the Vedic period or even earlier, when a system of non-metallic money seems to have existed for exchange of goods.¹ Like other parts of world and India, in Aṅga too, barter was the earliest stage of commercial transactions, which most probably arose from the practice of "mutual propitiation of gifts" and gradually the idea that the present received should be of like worth with that given was established; and exchanged articles in course of time lost the character of presents".² Moreover, barter appears to be the earliest means of carrying on commerce in Aṅga and elsewhere. We are told in the *Atharvaveda* about the words *Prapana* and *Pratipana*³ which means commodities received in barter or exchanges which were probably the common terms of exchange or the practice of barter in that age.⁴ The use of barter continued to exist in later time also. We find that in the age of later *Saṁhitas* it was used along with money economy.

The Buddhist literature is also full of the references and existence of barter system as medium of exchange during that period. Thus in one *jātaka* there is mention of a certain vagrant who purchases meal by giving a golden pin.⁵ Another *jātaka* refers to a man a dog with a clock,⁶ and a person exchanging five hundred

¹ Chakraborty, S.C. : *Currency Problem in Ancient India*, p. 5.

² Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, pp. 99, 100.

³ *Av.* III. 154.

⁴ For details see U. Thakur, : "*Barter and Exchange in Ancient India*" in *INC.* Vol. VI. 1967, p. 1 ff.

⁵ *Ja.*, Vol. VI. p. 519.

⁶ *Buddha Kalina Bhugola*, p. 547; Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 1ff.

wagons of corn with the commodities of corresponding value.¹ sometimes the traders earned twice and thrice their value by barter.²

In addition to the barter system, it appears from the literature that cows, rice, and garments were the medium of exchange during the period under review. Thus, a sage of *Rgvedic* times is seen offering an image of Indra in exchange for ten cows. Another sage of the same period is seen refusing to sell the image of Indra even for a hundred or a thousand or a ten thousand cows.³ In *Tandulārālī jātaka*, we find that rice was used as standard of value.⁴ Further, a potter is referred to as bartering his pots with rice barley and pulse.⁵ Even today we find that rice formed a principal medium of exchange in our society.

There is evidence to show that some metallic currency had been used as medium of exchange. Thus, mention may be made of *Niska*, *Śatamāna*, *Suvarṇa*, and *Pāda* etc., but their position in the field of commerce, seems to be insignificant. None of these coins have been ever referred to in the commercial context and appear only as sacrificial fee or gift or reward for religious, social and academic accomplishments.⁶ These metal pieces having conventional size, shape, substance, value and weight had a sort of socio economic significance, as they were the gifts from the kings,⁷ and people gradually began to place confidence in their intrinsic value. Gradually, in the post-Vedic period, some of those forms of metallic money like *niṣka* and *suvarṇa* became the popular medium of exchange. Thus, in the *Jātakas*, *niṣka*,⁸ *māṣa*, and *suvarṇa* are mentioned in the commercial contexts.

Apart from the Vedic *niṣka*, *suvarṇa*, and *śatamāna* etc. it seems almost certain that from 600 B.C. *Karsapana*, which is also known

¹ *Jā*, Vol. I, p. 377.

² *Yanaya*, Vol. III, p. 241.

³ *Rv.*, IV, 24, 10, VIII, 1, 5.

⁴ *Jā*, VI, p. 519; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 217.

⁵ *Milinda*, 81.

⁶ For details see, *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Jā*, Vol. IV, pp. 97, 460.

as Punch-marked coins, were used as medium of exchange in Aṅga like other parts of India. Uptill now only the silver and some pieces of copper *karsāpana* have been found from different hoards. Though in literature we also find the mention of gold punch-marked coins, yet it is strange that the latter have not been found anywhere in course of archaeological excavations. Thus, from the above it becomes clear that cows, rice, and some kinds of metallic currencies like *niska*, *suyarna* and *śatamāna* were the principal medium of exchange of Aṅga, like other parts of India.

CONCLUSION

ANCIENT Aṅga has been one of the most dynamic historical regions in the past. The glorious history of the Bṛhadrathas and the Śaiśunāgas radiated from this region. Our sources reveal that Aṅga was a settlement of the Aryans during the Ṛgvedic period. It was one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas of ancient India and was very rich and prosperous. Aṅga had a mixed population, composed of various races or stocks of people, like other parts of India. From different sources of the period it is gathered that the kingdom of Aṅga comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr and extended northwards upto the Kośī river and included some parts of modern Santhal Pargana district of Bihar. It is said that Brahamadatta, the king of Aṅga defeated Magadh and conquered Rājagṛha. It means that Magadha was under the supremacy of Aṅga.

There are a large number of important cities and towns and places of Historical and Archaeological importance in Aṅga. Among the important cities mention may be made of Campā, whose ancient name was Mālīni or Mālīna¹, and was its capital. This is one of the oldest cities of India and is frequently mentioned in Pāli, Prākṛt and Sanskrit literature. The city of Campā is said to have been veritable paradise on earth full of wealth and prosperity, internal joy and happiness.² Sultanganj was another important town of the region. It is situated on the right bank of Gaṅgā about fifteen miles to the west of Bhagalpur.³ The Aja-

¹ *Mbh.*, XII, 5-7; *Mt.* 48. 97; *Va.* 99, 105.

² Law, B.C. : *Some Jaina Canonical Stūras*, p. 73.

³ *B.D. Gazetteers*, p. 175.

gaibinātha hill standing in the bed of the Gaṅgā is a special attraction of Sultanganj, since the former is a place of great sanctity in the eyes of the Hindus. Sultanganj was also an important seat of Buddhism, for a huge copper image of Buddha and remains of Buddhist monasteries have been unearthed from here.¹ Vikramaśīla was yet another important place of the period. Though the site of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra remained a subject of controversy, even then it may be said that the site near Antichak and Pathar-ghātā can be regarded as the actual site of it. This university was founded by Dharmapāla in the 9th century A.D. and it continued to flourish until it was destroyed by the Muslim invaders at the end of 12th century A.D. It was a famous centre of Tantrism.² Some of the great scholars of this university went to Tibet³ to reform the deteriorated Buddhism of that land. Besides there were also a number of cities and towns which have their own importance. Moreover, all the cities stood for centuries for the high grade of culture and all its embodiments in arts and crafts, that made Aṅga conspicuous at the time in the eyes of civilised world. Yet each had a peculiarity of its own.

Like other important hills of Ancient India, the Mandāra Hill occupies a unique and glorious place in the cultural and religious annals of ancient Aṅga. The hill is situated at a distance of about 30 miles to the south-east of modern Bhagalpur district (Bihar). It has been an important seat of Bhāgavatas for a long time, that is why Caitanya, the great Vaiṣṇava saint of Bengal, paid a visit to this place in A.D. 1505.⁴ Like the Vaiṣṇavites, the Jainas also treat the hill as a sacred place, since their 12th Tirthankara Vasupujyanatha attained, nirvāṇa on this very hill. Below the hill, there are ruins and remains of several old buildings, structure, images and tanks,⁵ which

¹ ASR, Vol. 15, p. 24.

² JASB (1891), Vol. II, p. 51.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Prabhudatta, Brahmachari, *Śrī Śrī Caitanya Caritavata*, 3rd Ed. Pt. I, 250.

⁵ For details, see Chaudhury, A.K.: *Mandār Paṇicaya*, Bhagalpur, 1956, p. 64 ff.

may suggest the existence of a town or city in former days.

In discussing the dynastic history of the period we have made some observations as to the origin and status of the ruling families. We have seen how each of them without exception claimed to have discarded from. Moreover, the geneology of the lunar line of Āṅga as depicted in the *Purāṇas*,¹ cannot be said to be uniform and agreed in all the cases and sometimes serious chronological confusions set in. At times it so happens that either more than one name occur in one and the same step or there are found many forms of one and the same name.² We have accepted the testimony of majority of the *Purāṇas* which are supported and corroborated by other sources in the Brāhmanical literature. However, it is very difficult to reconcile these conflicting statements in the present state of our knowledge. The only source of our information for the reconstruction of the political history of Āṅga is literature, which is not always reliable because of its hyperbolic character and conflicting nature. In the historical period, however, the picture becomes somewhat clear as evidences gleaned from literary sources are supplemented to a great extent by the archaeological finds made from time to time. Like other regions of India such as Mithilā, Vaiśālī etc., the history of early Āṅga will also remain shrouded more or less in obscurity and a full and comprehensive history is possible only when the various historical sites lying scattered over the vast area are thoroughly exposed by the archaeologist's spade.

Āṅga was a monarchical state at all times during the period under review. It was so whether it stood as a unitary entity or was divided and ruled under separate kings. There was no time without a king. The monarch was the central figure of the administration in general and was the ultimate source of authority in particular. The king was also the protector of the realm and society as the God. The Almighty protected and sustained the universe. He was the representative of God on earth. All the powers, viz. executive, judicial, and military were vested in Him.

¹ *Va.* 99, 109-110, *Mt.* 48, 99-100; *Agn.* 277, 14; *Hv.* 1, 31, 51-52; *Bra.* 13, 45, 46; *Vs.* IV, 18, 5; *Bh.* IX, 23, 11.

² *Ibid.*

But nevertheless he was always guided by traditional customs and practices. There were also some checks on his powers, which were applied in practice according to the nature of the contingency. If the ruler overstepped the bounds of established customs and usages while he exercised kingly powers, he incurred the risk of a rebellion by the people.

The monarchy was hereditary and the succession was from father to son as it obtained under rules of primogeniture. Invariably the king's eldest son was the successor, and his office carried much weight and influence with it. The consecration of crown prince was a grand royal affairs, in which almost all the sections of the population took keen interest.

It may also be observed that a council of ministers as an advisory body was always present. The ministers have been variously assigned as *Amatya*, *Saciva*, and *Mantrin*.¹ The choice of the minister was not restricted to anyone particular caste. There were different portfolios allotted to the various ministers. The scope of works of the ministry included the whole administration. A political institution like "*Paṛiṣad*" was also functioning during the period. The *Paṛiṣad* was something like a Privy-council, whose sittings were often held to consider important matters of State. It was like the Vedic '*Samiti*',² which was a general assembly of advisors. Besides, there were some other officials like *Purohita*, *Sthapati* and *Pratihara* etc., who performed different kinds of works as assigned to them. Among these three, *Purohita* had a very high position in the royal court of the period. He was the royal official and acted as his advisor on all religious matters,³ and also acted as the *Guru* and *Acarya* of the royal princess.⁴ '*Sulas*', the '*Magadhas*' and the '*Vandins*' were the palace servants, whose duty was to serve the royal personages by singing praise-songs.

Varnaśramadharmā was the basis of the social order during the period under review. Though there is controversy regarding

¹ *V. Rām.*, 1, 7, 1; 8, 21; 7, 4.

² *Dikshitar, V.R.R. : Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 156.

³ *VI-I*, p. 113.

⁴ cf. *Law, N.N. : Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 47.

the origin of the Varṇa system, even then we find the existence of four different categories of castes (Varṇa) mostly based upon their functions. They are Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and the Śūdras. Among them Brāhmaṇas enjoyed a very high position in the Society of the period. The position of Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas was also high. But the Śūdras became the most under-developed and their lot was hardest. However, in due course they began to enjoy some economic and social concessions.

Slavery was a well recognised institution in the social life of Aṅga. From an analysis of the categories of slaves, it appears that the increase in the number of slaves was most probably due to the poor economic condition of the people. There are extensive references to gift, sale and purchase of slaves in the period. Our sources reveal that generally slaves were treated with care and kindness, and some of them could rise to responsible posts. The slaves were essentially domestic servants and performed diverse house-hold tasks.

Marriage is one of those Indian social institutions, which have continued even to this day with all their historical growth. It is treated as one of the greatest religious and social sanctities. We find the prevalence of eight forms of marriage, out of which four are approved and the rest four are disapproved. Besides, the Svayambara (self-choice) system of marriage was also in vogue only among the royal families. Polygamy was not unknown, since there was no prescription or limit to the number of children. Widow-remarriages were allowed and dowry seems to have been prevent in the society of the period. Women, some how or other occupied an honourable position and had similar education as man, Women took part in philosophic debates with man.

Meat-eating and drinking of wine was very common in the society. It is said that even the Buddhist monks relished it. Ornamentations and decorations were highly prized by all sections of people, not merely from social standpoint but sometimes out of religious importance attached to them, Hunting was the pre-eminent aspect of recreation, for which the most common objects were the animals like boars, buffaloes and deer etc. 'Samajas' a festive gathering were observed on fixed occasions by the people in general. It seems to have included fairs, festivities, recreation

of many a sport, play and sports¹ etc. Generally the Royal Court and mountain peaks were its venue. Gambling had a great charm for some people, specially for the wealthy and royal persons. Besides these, dancing, singing, playing on various musical instruments, dramatic performance etc. were other recreations which were observed by the people of Aṅga. Some people earned their livelihood by adopting the profession of singing and dancing. Stories and historical narratives would be recited at the performances of Asvamedha and Rajasuya sacrifices.

Our analysis of religious life shows that Aṅga has been a celebrated centre of Brāhmaṇism, Jainism, and Buddhism without any conflict with one another. The most admirable features of the religious life of this period are the tolerant policy of the kings who ruled over the land and the liberal attitude of the people who, though strong in their loyalty to their respective faith, seldom descended to physical clashes and vulgar abuses. It was only due to this tolerant policy of kings and nobles attitude of the people that contributed to the peaceful development of all religious side by side.

Our analysis of Economy of the period shows that trade and industries were highly developed. The industrial genius of the people of Aṅga expressed itself in the advancement of various arts and crafts, such as spinning, carpentry, textile, sugar oil ivory, bead making, metal and pottery industry, as well as cane and leaf works etc; made a tremendous progress. Campā was a centre of trade frequented by merchants big and small. The traders of Campā (capital of Aṅga) sailed to Suvarṇabhūmi for trade purposes. It sea-faring merchants loaded their cart with four kinds of merchandise.² Thus, it is obvious that traders of Campā were carrying on brisk overland trade during the period under review.

The organisational genius of the people is reflected in the corporations of artisan and traders. Guilds were generally under their respective *Jettahakas* or *Seṭṭhis*. The guild performed

¹ *Jā.* Vol. II, p. 253; *IV*, p. 458.

² *Digha*, Pt. I, p. 7.

³ *Niyadhammakāhaḥ*, VII, p. 98.

multifarious works for its organisation, as well as for the interest of society as a whole. Among other things the 'banking business' was an important function.

'Land tax' was the principal source of land revenue, which consisted most probably of the king's one sixth share of produce. It is also presumed that state levied exercise on certain articles of consumption, both necessities and luxuries (Bhagabhokara). Cases of fiscal oppressions of the people by the kings are also not wanting. It is evident from the *levi* of *pranya* (benevolence) and *Viṣṭi* (levy of forced labour).

Barter was the earliest means of exchange during the period under review. In addition to it cows, rice, and garments etc. were used by the community as a medium of exchange. *Niska*, *Masa*, and *Suvarna*, were adopted for highly priced commodities, while copper was used for ordinary exchanges. In the course of time *Karṣapanas* of silver, copper, and gold in different denominations were used by the community as medium of exchange.

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